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Enlarged Worldwide Prohibition Edition

For Atlas Legions that Are Uplifting the World
and Magazine Tables of Reading Rooms

WHY DRY?

BRIEFS FOR PROHIBITION

Local, State, National and International

By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph. D.

World's Food Supply—Don't Waste It. [From British White Ribbon.]

INTERNATIONAL REFORM BUREAU

206 Pennsylvania Avenue s. e., Washington, D. C.

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REPORT FOR BONE DRY NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

Presented by Senator Henry W. Blair, July 9, 1888.

A majority of the committee would deem a refusal to submit the proposed amendment to the States for consideration analogous to the denial of the right of a party to be heard in court upon a question of private right. The method provided in the Constitution for its own peaceful amendment would be destroyed by failure to submit the proposition for amendment in cases of grave moment involving the approval and prayers of multitudes of the people, for where the remedy sought is admitted to be without the jurisdiction of the fundamental law, the petition is really addressed to the only tribunal which can enlarge that jurisdiction, that is to say, to the States themselves. Should, then, Congress in such case refuse to usbmit the proposal to the States, such refusal would constitute a substantial denial of the right of petition itself.

The changes in the National Constitution, made indispensable by the development of the nation, can only be peacefully accomplished by a judicious and liberal exercise of the power of Congress to propose amendments to the States upon the petition of those who desire to be heard in the great court of the people exercising their sovereignty through the States, as in the formation of the Constitution.

It is well known that but for the belief in the conventions of the States that the opportunity to amend the Constitution would be most liberally afforded by Congress in accordance with the forms provided in that instrument, the original ratification never would have been obtained.

While the committee would by no means justify the submission of trifling or uncalled-for propositions for the consideration of the States, yet they firmly believe that the perpetuity and peace of the country under the forms of constitutional government demand that there be no captious or arbitrary denial of the right of petition for the amendment of the fundamental law through the forms of Congressional submission to the tribunal of the people in the States. * * *

If the proposed amendment should be ratified and become a part of the national law, the chief curse of the world would be summoned to the block of national justice, and die by the hand of the only power which can wield an axe big and sharp enough to cut off its hydra head. Then we should have peace.

But the agitation for the destruction of the liquor traffic cannot cease until the evils which it inflicts upon mankind are removed or the human race is destroyed. It is useless to cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. It is time to face the subject. * * *

It is claimed by the advocates of this amendment that the liquor traffic is a unit of evil which submerges the whole nation, and that there can be no complete and certainly no permanent elevation of any part above this "sea of trouble" which is not the result of a lifting force exerted continuously by the nation in its organic capacity everywhere. This evil runs with the blood throughout the whole system of national life, and nothing but national constitutional treatment will cure it.

National constitutional legislation, therefore, becomes necessary to preserve the police power itself, which under existing national laws and the relations between the States themselves, as well as between the General Government and the States, is nullified, and the health, morals, and good order of society destroyed.

Note—In Cong. Record of December 27, 1876, may be found Senator Blair's first amendment prohibiting distilled liquors only, and 13 page speech on it. He spoke on it in Senate April 26, 1886. On December 12, 1887, he introduced it in what would now be called the "bone dry" form as follows: "The manufacture., importation exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic beverages shall be, and is forever prohibited in the United States, and in every place subject to their jurisdiction." It was on this amendment that above favorable report was made. It was defeated March 2, 1889, 33 to 13.

WHY DRY?

Briefs for Prohibition

Local, State, National and International

By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph., D.

Author of "World Book of Temperance", Intoxicating Drinks and Drugs in All Times and Lands", "Practical Christain Sociology", "The Sabbath for Man", Successful Men of Today", Internationalism", etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JOHN G. WOOLEY.

HON. CHARLES M. SCHWAB, Director General Government Ship Building: Don't build ships with beer, build them with elbow grease. The nation needs ships to win the war; if we're to win quickly, we must build them quickly.

HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, Alien Property Custodian, Sept 17, 1918: When this traffic, doomed though it is, undertakes and seeks by secret methods to control party nominations, party machinery, whole political parties and thereby control the government of state and nation, it is time that the people knew the truth, and it is time that we as Americans, * * * stand for the truth, no matter who gets hurt in the process. And I say another thing which is appropriate to be said in this great hour of the country's emergency, that the organized liquor traffic of the country is a vicious interest because it has been unpatriotic; because it has been pro-German in its sympathies and its conduct. You and I know perfectly well that it is around these great brewery organizations, owned by rich men, almost all of them of German birth and sympathy, at least before we entered the war, that has grown up the societies, all the organizations of this country intended to keep young German immigrants from becoming real American citizens. It is around the sangerfests and the sangerbunds and organizations of that kind, generally financed by the rich brewers, that the young Germans who come to America are taught to remember first, the fatherland and second America.

H. B. ISHII, Japanese Ambassador to the United States: Alcohol is an ever-present menace until it is finally done away with the world over.

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Introduction

The mind of Wilbur F. Crafts is the nearest thing to omniscience in the world movement toward prohibition of the liquor business.

I write in judgment, not enthusiasm. Through many years he has towered like a mountain peak among the more showy thunderheads of prohibition sentiment, collecting in a faultless memory all the still, small potentials of the upper levels, to deliver them in power on the plain. Some forty volumes represent this applied knowledge, every one conceived in scientific method, lit with a hot but sane passion of reform to give them vividness with permanence. All of these books have gone into repeated editions, and some of them into the fiftieth edition.

All this time, while his card index and his scrap-books let nothing get away, he has fought in the trenches like a common soldier of the line with practical assiduity and efficiency surpassed by none and equalled by very few. He has completely escaped the too common blemish of scholarship, the preservation of useless information and the common fault of agitators—wasted motion beating the air.

And now the breaking up of the long winter of the licensing recusancy has released an avalanche of fact, argument and appeal that fills our ordnance department inexhaustibly, and buries the army of spirituous dilettanti until the judgment day.

The value of this latest book is logically as pertinent to all the present agitations of social betterment as to the great reform whose progress has inspired it.

It is a handbook of verified knowledge for the leaders and the masses in enemy country. It is a world document by a world American, a cosmopolitan minister of religion and a non-commissioned minister of state.

Madison, Wis., Sept. 12, 1918. John G. Wooley.

"After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United Sates and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the State by the Congress.'

Why Ratify National Constitutional Prohibition?

The three most effective pleas for all forms of prohibition are: first, for the sake of wife and child; second, for the sake of Capital and Labor; third, for the sake of the Nation and the World. And the greatest of these arguments, and most entitled to stress when we are discussing national prohibition, whether for war time only or forever, is the patriotic argument, which, being interpreted, is: We must conserve the forces and resources wasted by drink, including our saloon-corrupted democracy, in order to do our part in giving a clean democracy to the world.

There are three distinct stands in this patriotic argument: 1. We must save for better uses food, fuel, money, transportation, man-power and "morale" wasted in drink; 2. We must destroy our own secret autocracy, saloon domination in politics; 3. We must also destroy our own worst anarchy, liquor lawlessness.

We have fully discussed that first conservation strand elsewhere (pp. 19-50), and shall add but a supplimentary word here, a mere suggestion on "revenue."

When a man, who has signed up for $1,000 in War Stamps, was asked how he was going to get the money to pay for them, for it was known that he was not well favored with this work's goods, he answered that he was 'going to cut out the booze.

Frank A. Vanderlip, former Comptroller of the Currency, later President of the largest bank in America, now serving without pay as Chairman of the War Savings Committee of the United States Treasury, recently said:

"The plea that Government revenue will be seriously curtailed should not influence action, for prohibition will induce a national **efficiency which will open new and far richer sources of revenue.**"

Following the chronological rather than the logical line, I shall now discuss liquor lawlessness, which preceded and led up to saloon domination of politics.

"Our Friends, the Enemy."

Liquor men have done more to bring us to the verge of national constitutional prohibition, by their persistent violation of all previous liquor legislation, than all the temperance orators with their pathetic pictures of drunkards' homes and their piled-up statistics of the cost and consequences of drink. A majority of the voters that carried previous prohibitions have been citizens who were not anti-alcohol, but only anti-saloon. They had no thought of giving up drink altogether, but they were willing to be at extra trouble to get it, and to drink less frequently, in order to punish, or perhaps reform, the saloons that were habitually violating even the liberal license laws, and forever lording it over more useful business, and even seeking to dominate politics in their own selfish interest.

After Maine had discovered State prohibition, it was seen to be so manifestly right and useful that it swept across the land; but while good men were diverted to the kindred battle, abolition of slavery, the liquor men were able to discredit State prohibition by persistent violation. The people having a big civil war on hand, stretching through the period of reconstruction also, *generally accepted the theory that lawbreakers could not be brought to order except where there was a local majority against them,* in which case it was supposed they would either voluntarily obey, or be compelled to do so by the preponderance of public sentiment. By 1906, there were only three States, Maine, Kansas and North Dakota, left under State prohibition, but local prohibition was gaining all over the land. The liquor men, however, violated "home rule" "no license" prohibition just as they had violated State prohibition. They bribed and bulldozed officials and corrupted elections, often putting in office men who brazenly promised to perjure themselves if elected, that is, they promised to "run the town wide open," which meant they would split the law "wide open." 20 of 21 dry towns wet mayors.

This persistent liquor lawlessness proved in the end more a help than a hindrance to prohibition. Men who would have been content with local prohibition if they had been allowed to have it in full when they voted it, saw they needed not only a larger dry area but stronger enforcement officers than petty local officials. And so the people voted in 1907 and after to go back to State prohibition. *If liquor men would break laws anyway it was better to array against them the whole strength of State sovereignty.*

States Rights Invaded by Liquor Forces.

But, even in the South, with the negro's perilous susceptibility to drink and the cry of *"State rights"* to strengthen the State prohibition, it was frequently violated—Georgia's "State rights," for example, as expressed in the State law, being trampled in the dust, not only by Jacksonville and Chattanooga in adjoining states that pretended to be jealous of "State rights," but also by Savannah within Georgia's own boundaries, whose habitual trampling on State law, I told its citizens in those nullifying days, should constrain them to forever hold their peace on "State rights."

When nullification within dry States was measurably suppressed, wet States, in total disregard of "State rights," about which some of them shouted academically, continued to ship liquors into the dry States. State laws framed to prevent this invasion were declared by the National Supreme Court to be unconstitutional. *It took a national twelve years' struggle with the law-defying liquor dealers and their political allies, to get Congress to forbid interstate shipments of liquors to unlicensed liquor sellers.*

Some of us urged Congress to *dam the liquor traffic at every State line,* that is, make a complete prohibition of interstate shipments, that every State might absolutely control the liquor traffic in its own borders, whether under a license law or prohibition law.

Some reformers would think it unwise to say much about liquor lawlessness, lest the impression would be made that if the prohibition law is so much violated it is hardly worth having. The lawlessness is emphasized because that is as much worse than the liquor as treason is worse than poison. But I will quote two demonstrations I made in a prohibition auto tour of Maine in 1911, which were based on statements in liquor papers and never challenged by any of the hecklers in my audiences nor by the anti-prohibition press.

The Portland Argus on August 5, 1911, said: "Added to the $100,000 of rum sold in the now closed dispensaries, about a million dollars a year goes out of Maine for alcoholic beverages." This estimate was considered as sufficient proof that prohibition was a complete failure; but Prof. Emerson, of Lynn, turned this roaring gun of our foes into one of the best weapons of the prohibition side, for $1,100,000 divided among the 742,341 population of Maine at that time made only $1.48 per capita; while the average for the whole population of the nation, which was almost half under the "dry" policy, was twelve times as much, namely, $17.39. The figure is obtained by dividing $1,598,921,416, the average national expenditure for alcoholic beverages for the years 1909-11, according to the United States Bureau of Statistics, by the population, 91,972,266. As about forty-four millions of these were in 1911 under the "dry" policy, the average in "wet" territory was probably $25 per capita, or $125 per family in "wet" territory against $7.40 per family in Maine. "Money talks," and in this case proclaims that prohibition prohibits.

"The Bulletin," official organ of Maine anti-prohibitionists, furnished an equally effective gun with which to convert voters. It paraded the statement that twenty million gallons were shipped by mail order houses in 1910 into prohibition States as a conclusive proof that prohibition does not prohibit. But divided among the population of the nine States which were that year under prohibition, namely, 15,602,935, this turns out to be only 1¼ gallon per capita, which was only one-eighteenth of the average consumption for the nation, that was given as 21.86 gallons by the American Grocer. This average with almost half the country "dry," meant at least 25 gallons per capita in the "wet" territory, that is 125 gallons per family against 6¼ per family in prohibition States. The statement in the Bulletin was that the twenty millions of gallons carried by express into prohibition States, which in no case allowed breweries or distilleries inside, was "practically the whole of this traffic."

The prohibition of interstate shipments for illegal sale was inevitably violated to a considerable degree because interstate shipments "for personal use" were legal everywhere. The bootlegger must be caught in the act of selling. Liquor dealers habitually took advantage of that situation, until the Reid "bone dry" amendment made it illegal to import liquors into dry States for any beverage use.

Liquor men argue, That "bone dry" law has put out of commission the plea for interstate protection, formerly the strongest argument for national prohibition; but the Reid law came too late to stop the demand for national protection; the conviction that the incurably lawless liquor traffic ought to be destroyed by the nation because it trampled on State laws had already won to national prohibition those who were most jealous of "States' rights." It was felt that so long as any State was allowed to harbor the drink, its lawless dealers would prey on all dry States, even though the "bone dry" law had added a new prohibition for them to break.

How absurd this cry of "States rights" raised by the liquor dealers against national prohibition! *What is the "submission" of a constitutional amendment by Congress but a national "submission" to "States rights"!*

When the States formed the national Constitution, they expressly provided in behalf of States rights, that change could only be made by Congress submitting proposed amendments to State legislatures; and they further provided that submission should require a vote of two-thirds of the House of Representatives, in which the citizens of the whole nation were represented pro rata, and

this action must be ratified by a majority vote of three-fourths of the State legislatures. How could "States rights" be more completely protected?

From the beginning, the main driving wheel of the prohibition movement has been the persistent invasion of States rights by liquor dealers; and, let it be remembered, *they have broken the mild restrictions of liberal license laws even more than prohibition laws.*

Liquor Samples in East St. Louis.

On July 29, 1918, an investigating committee of the House of Representatives, Hon. Ben Johnson, M. C., Chairman, reported on the race riots in East St. Louis, *a license city,* in July of the previous year, in which 39 negroes and 8 whites were killed, and 312 buildings and 44 freight cars were burned. At the time of the riot, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, announced to the United States Senate *that this lawlessness, which he attributed chiefly to the licensed saloons, had converted him to prohibition.* He said in a blaze of righteous indignation: "The principal source of the violence, of the fetid, corrosive element that blazed away in disorder and wrote the story across the sky over St. Louis, is the infernal, lawless, damnable saloons that have infested the town and damned the community for years."

The committee report flames with the same burning condemnation, and declares that THE LEADERS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES WERE IN THE UNHOLY LEAGUE OF COMMERCIALIZED VICES AND COMMERCIALIZED POLITICS, which has cursed at times nearly all American cities, but is seen in East St. Louis in a stronger light than usual on the background of arson and wholesale murder. The report says of the carnival of liquor and lust, of which the riot was but the natural harvest: "It was brought about by a combination between the leaders of the worst elements of both parties. They pooled issues in the city election and declared regular dividends on their investment at the expense of honest people." The report shows that the officials of the city, executive, legislative and judicial, were nearly all in league with the liquor and red light gangs, or a partner in them.

The dullest good citizen, indifferent to prohibition lectures and literature, gets some anti-saloon sentiment burned into him when he reads in his daily paper such a tragedy as that.

The Committee's report abounds with the stories of the ruin of young girls, far worse than the human sacrifice of savage tribes. In Mexico, for example, the traveler is shown the high altar where some beautiful girl, selected for the occasion in the old days, was annually sacrificed to the Sun God, her heart cut out by the priest and laid, all quivering, on the altar. We do not offer such sacrifices as that—not a solitary maiden, but at least a hundred thousand a year we sacrifice to the saloons that damn and dominate the politics of many States. All that lawlessness in East St. Louis, not in the riot only but for years previous, was a defiant trampling on the State law of Illinois—a liberal license law but none the less defied.

Legislative Bribery Worse Than Riots.

By so much as treason is worse than murder, because the former affects not an individual life only, but the life of the Government, THE BRIBERY OF OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS BY THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IS WORSE THAN ANY DISORDERS IT MAY PROMOTE, and when such an effort is made by a national organization it assumes the nature of an organized invasion, with money for ammunition, and the defeat of majority rule as its treasonable objective.

When the National Liquor Dealers' Association, in 1903, appealed to all liquor dealers of the nation to contribute five millions of dollars to defeat prohibition legislation in State legislatures and in Congress, the following statements were made:

"Our State associations are charged with looking after legislative proceedings;" "this national organization was formed to attend to Congressional affairs;" "to defeat all such (temperance) measures, if possible, is a part of the onerous work."

The following quotations from an editorial in the December 20, 1903, issue of Truth, the liquor organ of Michigan, then wet, shows just what the liquor people understood as to the use of the great fund:

"The experience of the liquor trade of Michigan in the past has taught them that the raising of money in large or small quantities for use in the legislature has always resulted disastrously for the trade."

"It is true that years ago the liquor trade of Michigan raised large sums for legislative work and the old timers in the trade have not forgotten that the legislatures of those days took their money and passed the bills against them every time."

(That is to say, the plan of bribery did not succeed. So the virtuous liquor trade of Michigan quit it. Truth continues:)

"Grafters in the legislature, and all legislatures have them, no longer introduce bills against the liquor trade in this State as they have been taught there is nothing in it for them but a stiff fight in their district next time."

"The raising of money by the liquor trade to further its interests in legislative bodies meets with almost universal disapprobation. Men who are known as drinking men and who have no fault to find with the saloon denounce such methods. The liquor trade exists through public approval. Just as soon as the trade loses this approval it will cease to exist. Raising of funds to corrupt the machinery of the government and pubilcly announcing its intent to do so will not aid the trade in holding public confidence.*

Talk about invading States rights! Both State and national rights have been invaded by such organized efforts of liquor dealers to decide governmental action by secret use of money, rather than the open casting and counting of ballots.

There are two or three twists of the "States rights" objection that need a few additional words of reply.

That *a majority of the population might be in thirteen big wet States is a purely academic objection.* The early ratifications, including Massachusetts, make it wholly improbable that such will be the case. It would in any case be in accordance with the Constitution, just as a President may be elected through the Electoral College by a minority vote of the American people.

The decisive fact in this matter is that *the prohibition amendment was submitted by a vote of eight more than two-thirds in the House of Representatives, which represents, pro rata, the whole population of the nation. About three-fourths of the population live in dry territory, made so by their own votes.*

It is also pertinent to note that in the first fourteen States that ratified, including six States then wet, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Delaware, Louisiana, and Texas, the vote was four-fifths for ratification.

Concurrent Jurisdiction.

Liquor men are trying to capture some Southern States by the "carpet bagger" bogie, crying that the National Government may send federal officers to enforce national prohibition, even though the State has concurrent power in enforcement. In such cases the federal power, except as internal revenue is

*The whole story is given in full, with the letter, in The American Issue of Jan. 22, 1904. When this letter got unexpected publicity and much condemnation, the President of the National Liquor Dealers' Association added a belated postscript that "it was intended to raise money for legitimate purposes."

concerned, leaves the enforcement to the State, and only interposes when the State notoriously neglects to do its duty, which is not likely to be the case in any dry State.

The New York City Bar Association, whose members we can but feel are prejudiced by a big practice among those in the liquor business and closely related banks and industries, declared against the ratification of the National Prohibition Amendment by the State Legislature because of alleged difficulties in the provision for concurrent jurisdiction. In reply, the New York State Anti-Saloon League has cited several decisions which show there is nothing new nor strange in such concurrent jurisdiction. The fact that it has not been specifically stated in other national Constitutional amendments is not important. It was probably not essential to say it is in this case. It was put into the law chiefly for the information of those who might not have understood that such concurrent jurisdiction is assumed as a matter of course in a case where the same thing is forbidden by both State and national law. We quote one Supreme Court decision, which seems to us conclusive and sufficient. There are several more of the same tenor.

In the case of Houston vs. Moore, Justice Johnson rendered the following opinion:

The Constitution containing a grant of powers, in many instances similar to those already existing in the State governments, and some of those being of vital importance, also, to State authority and State legislation, it is not to be admitted that the mere grant of such power in affirmative terms to Congress, does, per se, transfer exclusive sovereignty on such subjects to the latter. On the contrary, a reasonable interpretation of that instrument leads to the conclusion that the powers so granted are never exclusive of similar powers existing in the States unless where the constitution has expressly, in terms, given an exclusive power to Congress or the exercise of a like power is prohibited to the States, or there is a direct repugnance or incompatibility in the exercise of it by the States. *The example of the first class is to be found in the exclusive legislation delegated to Congress for places purchased * * * for forts, arsenals, dock-yards, etc.;* of the second class, the prohibition of a State to coin money or emit bills of credit; of the third class, as this court has already held, the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization and the declaration of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. IN ALL OTHER CLASSES ALREADY MENTIONED IT SEEMS UNQUESTIONABLE THAT THE STATES RETAIN CONCURRENT AUTHORITY WITH CONGRESS.

Liquor Lawlessness Before and in This World War.

Before the world war, the cumulative effect of almost three-score years and ten of persistent lawbreaking by liquor dealers, accompanied by their corruption of politics, had so re-enforced the familiar standard arguments of prohibition, that on December 22, 1914, the U. S. House of Representatives gave a majority vote for the Hobson-Sheppard national prohibition amendment—197 to 189, not two-thirds but eight majority. This sufficiently indicates that the nation was ready for national prohibition. Dry States were added every year, giving to the people of each State vivid first-hand proof of the need of national prohibition in the continued efforts of liquor dealers to override these new verdicts of the people. Prohibition helped greatly everywhere, but the full fruition of its benefits was abridged by liquor lawlessness.

The world war, even before we entered it, brought powerful re-enforcement to the argument for national prohibition, for every belligerent nation, *by some restrictive or prohibitory legislation branded Drink as a foe in the rear that must be curtailed or interned.* (See pp. 19-50).

In the United States during our first year of war, though unprecedented appeals were made by the men and women of light and leading to the President and Congress to conserve food and fuel and money and transportation and man power and "morale" by immediate and complete prohibition, we made even less restriction than Great Britain or France—no restriction at all except such as came from a very inadequate enforcement of a prohibition of liquor selling to soldiers, modified in France by permission to American soldiers to "buy or receive as a gift wine and beer," and by permission to soldiers in the United States to drink without limit when at home on leave or when a "bona fide guest" anywhere—an order that opened the way to much drinking, and led—as it should have been seen that it would—to such results that it was repealed after doing its evil work for half a year.

The Senate voted to prohibit the use of grain to manufacture liquors, to which distillers made no objection as they had more than two years' supply on hand, the price of which would rise if distilling was stopped; and besides they had work enough ahead in making munition alcohol. But the brewer, whose product is kept only a few months, came in on the Senators like a flood, and brought such influence to bear that the vote was immediately reversed. Soon after, the Senate voted the distillers should not take out whiskey during the war for beverage purposes, and this time the distillers made a drive on the Senate, and again this highest legislative body of the nation turned a quick summersault. These and other similar facts are added links in the argument for national prohibition because of the saloon's domination of politics.

When we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy we can not afford to have British and American and French democracies—the best in the world—thus autocratically controlled by the worst of trades.

Wide Significance of German-American Alliance Suppression.

On July 31, 1918, the President signed the death warrant of the German-American Alliance—the annulling of its charter by Congress. What had it done? The investigation by a Senate Committee showed that it was one of half a dozen agencies of the United States Brewers' Association, the chief mission of all of which was to influence secretly both citizens and officials in their civil acts with reference to the liquor issue. Because the German-American Alliance was also shown to be pro-German it was suppressed, but no action was taken against the Association "higher up" for its secret work in politics in restraint of the civil rights of officials and citizens, nor even for its financing of the pro-German propaganda. This sparing of the brewers, the chief offenders, shows that "King Alcohol" is still a mighty force in American politics—even in national politics.

The United States Government has had in hand since 1914 a carload of evidence of the brewers' political activities which it seems very reluctant to use. It consists largely of brewers' books seized when Pennsylvania brewers were charged with corrupting the November election of 1914 in that State. It was shown they had put a million dollars into that election. The brewers plead *Nolle contendere* and accepted a fine of $70,000—a small seven per cent. tax on their investment—rather than allow the seized testimony to be produced in

court, but through the Senate investigation of the German-American Alliance and otherwise many of the facts in the case have come to light.

It is fully shown that the German-American Alliance, which is de-chartered but not destroyed, was but one of half a dozen tenticles of the brewers' political octopus. The others remain intact to continue the effort to manipulate politics secretly in the interest of one trade, and that the worst of all, one by boycotting business men; another by defeating dry candidates; others by manipulating the negro and labor votes.

One of the brewers' political agencies is called the National Association of Commerce and Labor, a name admitted to have been chosen because of its resemblance to a government bureau. No doubt many an ignorant or careless person has been unduly influenced by its threats and proposals because he supposed them to be official.

Mr. Percy Andreae, who superintends the political activities of the United States Brewers' Association and who effected the "Organization Bureau" of the German-American Alliance, is the president of this National Association of Commerce and Labor at a salary of $50,000.

In a speech made at the time of the organization of this association Mr. Andreae thus describes the careful political surveys made in the Congressional districts:

"The value of this work to the [brewing] industry in each State wherein it is accomplished will be very appreciable, for it is impossible to obtain and use as I have described the political knowledge concerning Congressional districts in any State without at the same time acquiring the same data concerning the counties and senatorial districts of that State."

Vast Sums for Politics.

Mr. E. L. Humes, U. S. Attorney at Pittsburgh, who conducted the prosecution of the brewers of that State, on charge of corrupting the elections of 1914, to an affirmative issue, says:

"The financial activities of the National Association of Commerce and Labor in carrying out this comprehensive plan of Mr. Andreae are most interesting. During the year 1914 the United States Brewers' Association turned over to Mr. Andreae the sum of $330,138. The Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association paid him $90,000. These items and miscellaneous contributions which he received aggregated in that year $525,116.28. The only activities of Mr. Andreae and his associates were political in nature. They participated extensively in numerous State campaigns, using their funds to influence the election of governors, lieutenant-governors, United States Senators, members of Congress, and members of State legislative bodies.

"The extent of the operations of the United States Brewers' Association in 1914 reached startling proportions. . . . In 1914 we have an absolute record of collections aggregating at least $999,300.88. How much more was collected during that year, of which we have no knowledge because of the destruction of the association records, we can make no estimate. We do know, however, that the bank accounts which we have thus far succeeded in discovering show an aggregate in the neighborhood of a million and a half dollars."

Wholesale "Fraud in Texas."

In their political activities the brewers have attempted to control large sections of the population voting in federal elections. The evidence of the Texas trials concerning the manipulation of the negro vote is abundant. An agent of the brewers writes (p. 263 of official record of evidence):

"I have four thousand cards like the inclosed and I will place one prominently in every negro barber shop, eating house, saloon, and every other negro business in Texas and will supplement this advertisement with the help of every negro official in secret lodges, every negro preacher, and the negro newspapers in Texas. I am satisfied I will induce at least 50,000 negroes in Texas to pay their poll taxes in time." The extent to which these operations have gone on comes out on p. 287. Paget, a

political agent of the brewers, boasts: "If I had ten days more, there would have been 70,000 poll taxes paid." How the political work among negroes is masked can be illustrated by one instance (p. 78): "Prior to 1910, one J. D. Griffin, a negro preacher, known as Sinkiller Griffin, and other negroes formed an organization under the name of the Rescue Association of the United States of America and Africa, and incorporated the same under the laws of the State, the charter granted authorizing it to engage in the work of rescuing fallen women. Such charter was secured in fraud upon the State and the public; and the purpose of such organization has never been such as named, but to do political work principally among negroes for the Texas Brewers' Association."

Widespread and successful attempts to control the labor vote are indicated in E. Lowry Humes' Memorandum to the Federal Court at Pittsburgh:

"An official of the brewers' political organization in his report concerning a particular State remarked: 'I went over the State with a view of meeting with the most influential labor men and in securing their support now and in the fight that may come; and I am sure if it is necessary we can muster to our support all the labor men in the State with one or two exceptions, and they believe they can deliver the union-labor vote."

The name of Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, appears in the evidence that the Federal Government is for some reason holding back, neither using for prosecution, nor allowing for publicity. The evidence does not show any cash reward given Mr. Gompers for his frequent defenses of beer, but he is spoken of, as Dr. Clarence True Wilson puts it, as if he were "a regular of the U. S. Brewers' Association."

Mr. Hexamer, head of the German-American Alliance, was on the executive committee of the brewers' so-called National Association of Commerce and Labor. *Under his direction was carried on not only most of the pro-German propaganda but a large part of the beer propaganda as well.* Joseph Keller, the president of the School Board of Indianapolis, was the secretary of the National German-American Alliance. An article in the Indianapolis News of May 24, 1917, exposing his operations, says: "*Keller, according to the facts gathered by the government, was using the organization bureau of the German-American Alliance to elect State officers, United States Senators, Congressmen, and members of the legislatures in States where an effort was made to pass laws regulating the liquor traffic.* In 1914 he spent about $38,888 in his propaganda in favor of the liquor interests; and his work was not only in Indiana but extended to Ohio, Illinois and Texas. The $38,888 that Keller spent for the liquor interests came, the investigation by the government shows, from the United States Brewing Association and was paid by members of that association in a roundabout way so that the public would not detect it.

Mr. Humes says:

"The government is not in a position because of destruction of records to establish definitely the total amount of money that was raised and expended by the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association for its political purposes in 1914; but the records of one bank esablish that there was paid into the treasury of the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association for its political purposes in 1914 the sum of 349,992.11, and that during that same year in its efforts to elect the slate which it had selected there was expended from this one bank account alone the sum of $346,696.91. There may be other bank accounts which the government has not been fortunate enough to discover."

"The defendant companies through this association undertook to control the nomination and election of practically every public officer elected within our Commonwealth of Pennsylvania from governor down, including members of Congress and United States senators. At a conference called by its representatives in 1914, candidates for legislature and state senate, for members of Congress, for United States senators, and for governor were selected and not only the individual effort but the moneys contributed to this association by the brewing companies who have entered pleas in this case were used to put through the slate thus selected."

Brewers Organized Boycotting of Dry Business Men.

The very heart of democracy is stabbed by another branch of the brewers' political activity, whose bribery takes the form of boycott, a form of German "frightfulness." A large group of Chicago business men appealed to Congress to pass the Barkley-Webb amendments to the Lever bill. Each of these men received immediately a bullying letter from A. P. Daniels, the manager of the Chicago Manufacturers and Dealers' Association—an attack on the citizen's sacred right of petition.

Let me add from the withheld evidence some samples of the brewers' boycotting. An eminent manufacturer, who had considerable brewery patronage for a general article of merchandise, took an active part in closing by law enforcement a saloon opposite his own factory, which was manufacturing inefficiency among his workmen, as well as breaking the laws of the State. The brewers' boycot agency called him to account, and threatened to cut off all patronage from brewers if he did not sign away his liberty as a citizen by promising to let the saloons alone, however harmful and lawless. The boycot, he feared, would bring bankruptcy to his business, and so he went bankrupt in character by signing the abject promise. He should have fought as bravely against such an assault on democracy as if the attack had been by Hun soldiers in the open instead of cowards in the dark.

Another case of the brewers' boycot was that of an esteemed automobile manufacturer, who was linked up in business with a whole group of firms in the same business for economies in trade. He made a generous contribution to the prohibition campaign, and because of that exercise of his rights as a citizen, the whole association was threatened with a nation-wide boycot by brewers and whoever else they could mobilize for the attack unless he should withdraw. Soon after, the prohibitionist withdrew from the association, probably out of consideration for his associates. In yet another case, the only offense was that a business man was overheard on a train condemning the saloon. He was offered his choice to sacrifice free speech or be crushed by a boycot. I do not know what choice he made.

What Men May and May Not Do in Political Defense of the Trade.

Of course every man has a right to transfer his individual patronage or his work, and he has a right to form an association to promote or defend any legalized trade by all the legitimate methods of democracy—by lectures, literature and lobbying. It is an ignorant notion that citizens may and should be forbidden to talk to legislators about pending bills. As well say a king may not speak to his cabinet ministers. Legislators are the representatives of the "Sovereign People," and it is not only their right but their duty to confer, even better to do it openly than by letter or telegram. It is not the open interviews in a legislative lobby that are likely to be corrupting, but more secret interviews elsewhere. The primary and the lobby are the handles of politics, both left too much in the hands of bad citizens, who pull down—good citizens must lay hold of them and lift up.

What is it that associations may not properly do in politics? The Washington Post of September 2, 1918, quoted a decision of Lord Moulton, of the British Privy Council, that any promise that a legislator will act as desired by any person or group or in their separate interest has in it the taint of bribery and is a violation of the trust that inheres in public office. Lord Moulton

said in part: "THE POSITION OF A LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE IS THAT OF A MAN WHO HAS ACCEPTED A TRUST TOWARD THE PUBLIC, AND ANY CONTRACT, WHETHER FOR VALUABLE CONSIDERATION OR OTHERWISE, WHICH BINDS HIM TO EXERCISE THAT TRUST IN ANY OTHER WAY THAN HE CONSCIENTIOUSLY FEELS TO BE BEST IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS ILLEGAL AND VOID."

The boycot, like lynching and riots, belongs to the guerilla period of savagery, and has no place in an age of orderly justice when no man can legally be deprived of life, liberty and property until he has had a chance to state his case in court. Right now, while the world sees and feels the far-reaching results of the uncharted rule of brute force, we should banish every lesser manifestation of the same crude barbarism from our own land. Neither Kaiser nor brewer should be allowed to substitute terror for law.

Let no one suppose the brewers' terrorism has ceased. In the spring of 1918, at the very time of the investigation of the brewers' anti-American and anti-prohibition activities and within two hours' ride of the brewers' national headquarters, a lumber company, whose president is a strong prohibitionist, asked to be excused from loaning one of their auto trucks for a prohibition street meeting because such an act would bring a boycot on the company from all their local brewery patrons at least.

The representative acts of the liquor dealers that I have cited, which are in restraint of the civil rights of private citizens and public officials, should be of great service in marshalling against the liquor traffic every man who believes in law and order, in liberty and justice, in democracy and civilization. Mr. Humes, in concluding his testimony on the German-American Alliance, referred to the inadequacy of our corrupt practices acts, that require political candidates and party committees to report all their expenditures in political campaigns but make no such requirement of other organizations active in politics, good and bad. Every State legislature should take serious note of his suggestion that there should be "some kind of a corrupt practices act that will prohibit organizations of this kind from participating in politics except *under legal supervision, with control of their expenditures.*"

"Inciting to Rebellion."

Under the caption, "Inciting to Rebellion," the Brewers' Journal of August, 1918, reached a climax in the saloon's defiance of law which should hasten its end. Aroused to frenzy by the fact that the U. S. Senate, in July, 1918, voted to take up war prohibition on August 26, with the probability that the manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquors would be prohibited after that year during the war and demobilization everywhere under our flag, THIS OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BREWERS ARGUES FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF BEER DRINKERS TO MAKE AN "ORGANIZED" REVOLT IF CONGRESS PASSES THE PENDING BILL. We had a "whiskey rebellion" long ago, and made short work of it. We have more soldiers handy now, and a threatened beer rebellion brings no terrors; but this anarchistic editorial is so complete a display of the selfish lawlessness of the liquor trade that I quote it entire, believing that to red-blooded Americans, who have given service to win the war, this call to a beer rebellion will prove the most conclusive argument we have had for war prohibition to meet the present emergency, and for Constitutional prohibition to make permanent the overthrow of this autocratic and anarchistic trade.

Inciting to Rebellion.

[Editorial, Brewers' Journal, August, 1918.]

Intolerable conditions have always actuated human beings to resistance. All revolutions have been caused by oppression, arbitrary acts of rulers and governments, and by deprivation and misery thus produced.

What else can a thinking being do but resort to action which will remove the causes that make him or her miserable, but make common cause with fellow sufferers to end the misery afflicting them?

The Declaration of Independence says: "Prudence will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience has shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to produce new guards for their future security."

The right thus affirmed by the fathers of this country, upon whose call the Americans in 1776 threw off the yoke then oppressing them, is still inherent in our present generation and those who are now to be oppressed and to be deprived of the liberty to choose their own way toward the pursuit of their happiness WILL CERTAINLY NOT SUFFER DUMBLY AND WITHOUT AN ORGANIZED ATTEMPT TO WREST THE POWER OF OPPRESSION FROM THE HANDS OF THEIR WOULD-BE OPPRESSORS. (Capitals ours.—Ed.)

Here we are: Over one hundred millions of Americans, of whom an overwhelming majority of all adults have been accustomed to consume certain beverages which bring them refreshment and relief from the drudgery and sorrows of labor and its sequence of physical and mental exhaustion. They are to be suddenly deprived of these beverages. The British King, against whose oppressions our forefathers rebelled, would never have thought of an outrage like that. He knew that the American colonists might be taxed without their consent, bulldozed by his hired soldiers and all the rest of his monarchical machinery, for some time. But he also knew that to take away from them their beer, wine and spirits, would bring about the revolution at once. This the present rulers in Europe know also. They would not dare to suddenly introduce prohibition. They have seen what happened in Russia. And they, therefore, shrink from following the ex-Czar's foolish example. IT IS BUT NATURAL THAT ANY PEOPLE WHO ARE COMPELLED TO SUDDENLY CHANGE THEIR CUSTOMARY METHODS OF LIVING WILL BECOME REBELLIOUS AND TRY TO THROW OFF THE OBNOXIOUS YOKE THUS THRUST UPON THEM.

But this is not all: What is a man, or a woman, to do whose property is to be suddenly taken away? There are several million Americans whose property, amounting to over two billion dollars and invested in the beverage-producing industries, is to be wiped out forever. Are these Americans to tamely submit to that outrage? OR ARE THEY TO BECOME REBELS? The British King would have shrunk from the idea of brutally reducing an entire class of his American subjects to beggary. He knew that thereby he would precipitate a revolution. He might tax the colonists without permitting them to be represented in the tax-making governmental machine. But he would never have thought of closing their shops and factories and taking from them their raw material, tools and finished products.

Nor would the British King ever have thought of depriving a large part of the population of his colonies of the possibility of making a living by their daily labor. He knew that such action would result in adding that part of the population to the number of those academically propagating the idea of an ORGANIZED REVOLT. What is any one to do who no longer can make a living at the trade to which he, or she, has been apprenticed? The masses of working people who are to be suddenly thrown out of employment will naturally become revolutionists. There is nothing else left for them to do. Are they to tamely submit to seeing their wives and children starve to death? They will not! THEY WILL JOIN THE RANKS OF THE REBELS WHO ARE INCREASING AT A TREMENDOUSLY RAPID RATE IN ALL PARTS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

PROHIBITION IN AMERICA MEANS ACCELERATING THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION, which is to forever bury out of sight the parsons and politicians who are too stupid to know what they are doing.

Above incitement to a rebellion has been brought to attention of Attorney General.

Other arguments for prohibition from its hygienic and economic benefits to the individual in his home and business are convincing, but the argument for prohibition from the lawlessness of liquor dealers and their attempts to dominate politics and terrorize offcials and citizens should be *more than convincing—it should be* AROUSING.

We have noted numerous saloon confessions of local lawlessness in the discussion of "No license," but in this discussion of National Prohibition we find our chief argument in the organized, nation-wide lawlessness of the liquor traffic.

In place of what our subservient government has allowed distillers to blow into the bottles they fill in bonded warehouses, where the Government stands senior partner, with much the larger profit, "Bottled by the United States Government," we now have the opportunity to write by national constitutional prohibition, "*Throttled* by the United States Government."

"Personal Liberty" Versus Public Welfare.

This war time, when Liberty has a noble world-wide significance, is a good time to riddle the "personal liberty" objection to prohibition, and set over against liquor lawlessness, LIBERTY UNDER LAW, for which we fight.

Four centuries ago, like the flash of northern lights around the upper sky, all Europe was electrified with the cry, "Religious liberty." There was nothing selfish in the cry. It meant, to the men who uttered it, liberty to die that their children might have liberty to pray. In the next two centuries that light worked down into the lower sky, and Europe rang with the cry, "Civil liberty." There was nothing selfish in that cry. To the men who uttered it, it meant liberty to die that their sons might have liberty to govern themselves.

Alas that this word of heavenly glory should now be oftenest heard in that synonym of personal deviltry and personal selfishness, "Personal liberty." There is everything selfish in that cry. It means, to the men who utter it, liberty to destroy themselves, and in doing so to destroy the morals and peace of society.

In society the watchword of all save the slaves of that evil triumvirate, Appetite, Lust, and Greed, will be "Popular liberty," with liberty for the person only so far as it is consistent with the liberties of the populace. THERE CAN BE NO SUCH THING IN CIVILIZED SOCIETY AS "PERSONAL LIBERTY," IN THE SENSE THE PRODIGALS AND POLITICIANS USE THAT TERM.

Even in the wilderness, a hundred miles from the nearest savage tribe, and beyond the range of all civil law, the reveler cannot indulge in impurity with impunity. Even there, for his own good, his liberty is encircled with law—the law of God, written in his body, a law from which he cannot escape. Even there, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. He that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption." Even in the solitude of the wilderness the tippler shall find that he who sows an act reaps a tendency, and he who sows a tendency reaps a habit, and he who sows a habit reaps a character, and he who sows a character reaps a destiny. Nowhere in all God's universe is there personal liberty to do wrong with impunity. The only true personal liberty is liberty to choose among various ways of doing right.

But, so far as civil law is concerned, the man who will go away by himself into the wilderness may have personal liberty to keep a stench at his door, because he is not interfering with any neighbor's liberty to smell only sweet odors; he may make night hideous with drunken rage and revelry, because he is not interfering with any neighbor's liberty to rest in peace. But when this solitary

concludes that the protection and fellowship of society is more to be desired than his unbounded liberty to destroy himself, just as a man exchanges his 160-acre claim on the frontier for a corner lot in the city, this recluse surrenders his wilderness liberty for the smaller but more desirable liberty of civilized society. Such exchanges make up the history of civilization. Personal liberty in society is an ample circle, smoothly bounded on all sides by laws that protect the liberties of others; a circle in which one can do what he pleases, if he pleases to do what is just; in which he can do what he likes, if he likes to do what is right. The man who has in himself that equity which whispers all true laws to the legislator, and all right interpretations of them to the judge, and which silently leads every good citizen, in whatever land he travels, to obey all true laws without having seen them—that equity is a centripetal force that keeps the just man in his orbit, inside of the circle of his personal liberty; keeps him from even desiring to infringe on his neighbor's rights and liberties.

True Personal Liberty.

The man who has no will to do ill is the only man who has true personal liberty. Willing obedience to law is liberty, the liberty of the railway engine that leaps along the fixed rails having no desire to jump the track.

During the first year at Chautauqua, on the night of the feast of lights a very large toy balloon, in rising, was caught in the upper branches of a tall tree, and as the multitude watched breathlessly there seemed to be a battle between the invisible force that sought to lift the balloon heavenward and the tree that seemed a giant dragging it back to earth, the old battle between light and darkness, between the flesh and the spirit. At last light triumphed, and the balloon, untorn, pulled itself free from the last earthly entanglement, and rose into the freedom of the upper air, watched eagerly as it moved upward, until it shone as a heavenly star—a picture of him who obeys all laws freely, because he loves God with all his heart and his neighbor as himself. In the words of George McDonald, "If God's will is our law, then we are but a kind of noble slaves; but if God's will is our will, then are we his free children."

On the background of such true personal liberty the so-called "personal liberty" of the saloonist and the sensualist, and the "personal liberty" of those who desire to enrich themselves by supplying others with vices, is seen to be not personal liberty at all, but its opposite—personal slavery.

True and False Americans.

It might fairly be expected that Americans would know something about liberty, after all they have paid in blood and treasure to secure it; but the cry of "personal liberty" is usually spoken with a strong foreign accent. When we speak of foreigners, let us never forget to make it understood that we do not mean foreigners who are Americans in spirit. The Irishman who had sampled our country for a month and declared he "had determined to take it for his native land" could have done just that. There are many Irish, especially Scotch-Irish, who are Americans in spirit. Most of those who come to us from all parts of the British empire are but new loads of the Mayflower stock. Of course, we never think of Canadians as foreigners. They are the Americans of Americans in all the original moral implications of that word. What New England was, Canada is.

Right to Act Within the Law.

ONE OF THE VERY BEST DEFINITIONS OF PERSONAL LIBERTY WAS GIVEN BY REV. DR. OERTER, SPEAKING TO AND FOR A THOUSAND GERMANS OF THE BETTER SORT, GATHERED IN BROOKLYN A FEW YEARS SINCE IN BEHALF OF LAW AND ORDER.

HE SAID, IN SUBSTANCE, THAT PERSONAL LIBERTY IS THE RIGHT TO ACT WITHOUT MOLESTATION WITHIN THE LIMITS OF LAW.

But it is not for such "personal liberty" that the foreigners of the baser sort yell so wildly on reaching our shores. And many recreant sons of America join in that yell. Such individuals want "personal liberty" to destroy social liberty. They attack liberty in liberty's name. It reminds me of the shrewd trick by which Cambyses, the Persian, destroyed the liberties of Egypt. He knew that the Egyptians worshiped sacred cats; that an Egyptian would not kill a cat to save his wife or his life. And therefore he equipped his army, not with swords and shields, but with swords and cats—the latter taking the place not only of shields, but also of musical instruments. The tumultuous wailing of the Egyptian gods unnerved the Egyptians as soon as the Persian army came within hearing. The Egyptians saw they could not kill an invader without killing a god, and so surrendered their families and their country to the foe. That history is repeating itself in our own land. God forbid, patriots forbid, that the last part should be repeated. But the first part is being repeated before our very eyes. Hundreds of thousands of foreigners who come here, not for freedom to worship God, as our fathers did, but for freedom to raise the devil, march to the attack of the very institutions that have made this a good country to emigrate to, the lack of which have made their own lands good places to emigrate from, and, as they lift their swords to attack our liberties, they raise as a shield to paralyze our defense our sacred word "liberty," knowing that to many Americans liberty is only a superstition, a goddess, indeed, that must not be refused even human sacrifices, her name a word to be feared as a spell, even when uttered by her foes.

The most absurd element of the situation, which would be a comedy, were it not also a tragedy, is that these baser sort of foreigners fresh from foreign despotism, who never saw liberty in their lives, and would not know it if they saw it, present themselves as self-appointed professors of liberty to teach Americans how to be free. They cannot teach us anything about liberty; but we need to study it anew for ourselves in the new conditions of this age of cities, that we may stand firmly and together for our American institutions, which are not only consistent with liberty, but essential to it.

No Liberty to Do Wrong.

The "personal liberty" of the liquor seller to sell his maddening poison, of the dens of infamy to sell yet more deadly vices, on any day, means liberty to break the hearts of mothers and damn the lives of sons by the score. The "personal liberty" of the drunkard to make himself a temporary lunatic interferes with the liberties of men and women and children wherever he exercises that liberty. The law abridges no man's "personal liberty" except his liberty to do wrong, and that only in the defense of the liberties of others.

One of the best up-to-date answers to the "personal liberty" fallacy is that of United States Senator Wesley L. Jones, which is, in part, as follows:

"No one has a personal right to do that which is injurious to the individual, the home, and the State. It is one of the fundamental principles of a republican form of government that the right of the individual is subordinate to the right of the many. No individual citizen has any right to do what the State or the public deems injurious. The question of temperance does not concern the individual alone, it concerns the family, the public health, posterity, humanity, and the State. The strength of the race, the happiness of the home and the welfare of the State are at stake. Governmental authorities have not hesitated for much

less than this to restrict the actions of men and the so-called liberty of the citizens. We cannot burn our own house. Why? Because it is against the public good. Why then should we be permitted to burn out our own lives and at the same time injure those about us and in fact endanger them and deprive them of their own liberty? We cannot spit on the sidewalk or on transportation vehicles. Why? For the public good. Why then should we be permitted to drink that which endangers our neighbor and may transmit seeds of death to our posterity? No man can go to the drug store and buy a dose of arsenic to send himself to Kingdom Come although to do so might greatly benefit his family, the State and, so far as any one can see, himself. Why? Because of the public good, which is superior to the rights of the individual. We do not allow any one to sell whiskey to the soldier in uniform. The soldiers are not objecting and every one knows that this is a good thing to do. We quarantine individuals for diseases that are contagious and we compel vaccination in the interest of the public health. No man has the right to sell that which injures his neighbor and weakens the State and no man has the right to use that which injures himself and endangers others. To prohibit such things is real liberty and the State which fails to do so is neglecting its duty. Individual responsibility owes a duty to self, family, friends, and the State that is not discharged by license, recklessness, and unchecked selfishness. Prohibition is the first essential of real personal liberty. The user of alcohol as a beverage in the light of the facts is the destroyer of personal liberty."

How can we better picture the true liberty that emancipation from the drink curse will bring to the nation than in the words of Abraham Lincoln in his address on Washington's Birthday, 1842? After describing our deliverance from a foreign despotism in Washington's day, he turns to contemplate our anticipated deliverance from the thrall of appetite:

"Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed—in it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping; by it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest. Even the dram-maker and dram-seller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this is to the cause of political freedom! With such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruits the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty! Happy day, when — all appetites controlled, all passion subdued, all matter subjugated — mind, all-conquering mind, shall live and move, the monarch of the world! Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!

"And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be both the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in victory!..How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species!"

"Did they finish the fight that day
When the Liberty Bell was rung?
Did they silence the noise of war,
When liberty's triumph was sung?
Was Freedom made sovereign indeed
When the old bell pealed to the world
That the reign of oppression had ceased
And the banner of Freedom unfurled?
A BATTLE HAS WAGED SINCE THE WORLD WAS NEW;
THE BATTLE IS ON—GOD CALLETH FOR YOU."

Serbia

France

Britain

Belgium

WHY WAR PROHIBITION?

United States

Up-to-the-Minute Facts and Reasons why the manufacture, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic beverages should be prohibited by all beligerants for the period of the war and demobilization.

Italy

Brazil

Greece

HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy.

Ecuador

The raison d'etat of war prohibition is thus stated (pp. 234-237) by Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy:

"Congress has passed a law saying that under no conditions can any man sell a drop of intoxicating liquor to a man in uniform in America, and has prescribed heavy penalties if that law is violated. It is a wise law, and time has demonstrated its wisdom. In my judgment all who are building ships and making torpedoes are just as ready to make a sacrifice of their habits, or of their tastes, as the men in uniform, and there is no more reason why you should say a man who is going to fight should not be allowed to have a drink than why you should say that the civilian population all over the country should put the same restraint upon themselves during the war. We ought not to use a bushel of wheat for anything except a prime necessity, whether it is drink or eating; we ought not to use a car in America for anything except to win the war; we ought not to use a man for anything in America except to win the war. And every man employed in the industry of producing alcoholic drinks is employed in a business that is not necessary, to put it at the very best. In my judgment it is a business that lessens efficiency."

Montenegro

Peru

Portugal

Uruguay

Japan

Bolivia

China

Guatemala

Siam

Honduras

Liberia

Nicaragua

Dominican Republic

Twenty-eight flags against four! That includes all nations which have broken diplomatic relations with any of Central Powers. They are not all fighting, but they must all fight if needed, if only to save themselves from the Huns. We have not only right but might on our side. With more food, fuel, money and men we shall win out if we hold out. But we shall win sooner and with less slaughter if we lay aside every weight and the sin that God perhaps intends shall be banished before he will give victory.

Costa Rica

Haiti

Panama

Czeck Nation

Hedjaz

Cuba

Why War Prohibition?

Everywhere the argument for war prohibition is that there are ten lines of battle, one "over there," nine "over here," that need to be at full strength, not doing their "bit" but their best, one hundred per cent American and one hundred per cent efficient, to insure the winning of the war; all of which battle lines are reduced at least ten per cent by the effect of drink. These ten battle lines are: the soldier line, the munitions line, the fuel line, the transportation line, the ship building line, the food line, the money line, the voting line, the home line, the church line.

I. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO PROTECT MEN IN UNIFORM WHEN OUT OF "MORAL ZONES" ON LEAVE.

A large number of great witnesses can be quoted to show that drink is the foe, abstinence the friend, of soldierly efficiency; and the pertinence of quotations following from famous generals in support of that proposition is that the legislation already enacted, and approved by the U. S. Supreme Court, forbidding the selling of intoxicating beverages to soldiers, though efficient, is not sufficient. Secretary Daniels has repeatedly referred (p. 235) to the liquor dealers' disregard of official appeals to observe this law, in Newport and Mare Island, for which reason moral zones were established in those places.

The Brewers' Journal, July, 1918, p. 315, says: "Jacksonville has voted, by more than 1,000 majority, against saloon licenses, mainly because of complaints from the commander at nearby Army Training Camp Johnson, *saloonkeepers having barefacedly violated the rule against selling to soldiers.*" (Italics ours.)

Soldiers go everywhere on leave and on furlough, and therefore all "wet" towns imperil their efficiency by open doors to drink. Only a moral zone that is nation-wide is wide enough to fully protect them.

It is common to speak of alcohol's impairment of military efficiency only as it affects the soldier, but the very reason why Secretary Daniels made the ocean "dry" for officers of the Navy, by exending Secretary Long's order to them was that *a fuddled brain is still more dangerous in a commander,* whether on sea or land. The editor will cite on that point a part of what he said on drink as a menace to military efficiency in Senate hearing of May 9, 1917:

Gen. O. O. Howard gives the following among other instances of defeat through drink in the American War for the Union;

"In one of our great battles we suffered defeat, and many of us have believed that the mistake which caused the defeat was due to an excess of whiskey drunk by the officer in command. I had the testimony from an officer who was with him that pitchers of liquor were brought to his table, and that he and those around him drank

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The editor prepared a previous brief of the case for war prohibition, which was published in Congressional Record for June 18, 1917, p. 4072. The case as it stood at that time is more fully stated in the first hearing on war prohibition, on May 9, 1917, before Senate Committee on Agriculture. Before same Committee there were hearings for both sides on June 17, 18, 25, 1918. The page references in this brief, unless otherwise stated, refer to volume of last-named hearings. Other up-to-date discussions of war prohibition may be found in "The Wooden Horse," by Deets Pickett, and "Why Prohibition," by Charles Stelzle, both published in spring of 1918. Apply for lists of prohibition literature to International Reform Bureau, 206 Pa. Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C., American Anti-Saloon League, Westerville, Ohio, N. W. C. T. U., Evanston, Ill., Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, 204 Pa. Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C., Presbyterian Temperance Board, Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.; and National Temperance Society, 272 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

as freely from them as if they contained only water. The orders the commander gave were the direct opposite from what he would have given had he not been suddenly confused by drink. A heavy loss of men and material and a dreadful defeat for our cause was the result."

Even Homer, ten centures before Christ, knew that wine was harmful to a general's body and brain, as witness the following dialogue between Hector's mother and her hero son:

"Stay till I bring the cup with Bacchus crowned,
Then with a plenteous draught refresh thy soul
And draw new spirits from the generous bowl.'
'Far hence be Bacchus's gifts!' Hector rejoined:
Inflaming wine, pernicious to mankind,
Unnerves the limbs and dulls the noble mind:
Let chiefs abstain and spare the sacred juice
To sprinkle to the gods—'tis fitter use."

In Bible times we have another warning of defeat by drink when "Benhadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the kings, the thirty-two kings that helped him." These drunken generals were defeated by the sober "young men of the princes of the provinces" (Kings xx, 13-21). Daniel v tells of another defeat of a drunken King.

Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler quotes (p. 112) following great military leaders as witnesses that abstinence is essential to the efficiency of the soldier. While reading them it will be well to recall the remark of Bainbridge Colby at the Senate hearing, "It's not teetotalism but fighters we want now." The experts on fighters know that "booze fighters" are not of much use to fight anything else.

Earl Roberts:

Thirteen thousand abstainers are equal to 15,000 nonabstainers. Give me a teetotal army and I will lead it anywhere.

Sir John French:

Abstinence and self-control make a man more serviceable. If men want to see regiments, battalions, squadrons, and batteries, smart and efficient, if they have at heart the fame of the glorious regiment to which they belong, they must practice these great qualities of self-control and self-sacrifice.

Gen. Methuen:

I appeal to these gallant men who represent this great Empire to act their part as England expects them to do; and throw away from them the vile curse of drink, so that they may make themselves fit in body and nerve to face a foe that is as courageous as he is brutal in war.

Lieut. Gen. Sir Reginald Hart:

As an officer, I support temperance because I know that officers and men who avoid drink are physically and mentally efficient, their nerves are stronger, they march better, there is far less sickness and crime, and their power of resistance is strengthened.

Admiral Sir J. R. Jellico:

As regards straight shooting it is everyone's experience that abstinence is necessary for efficiency. By careful and prolonged tests, the shooting efficiency of the men was proven to be 30 per cent worse after the rum ration than before.

Law approved May 18, 1917, said: "It shall be unlawful to sell any intoxicating liquor, including beer, ale or wine, to any officer or member of the military forces while in uniform." (Words "or give" were cut out after "sell.")

Gen. John F. O'Ryan, in address 37,000 American troops leaving for France: "Our job is to whip the enemy hard and with the least loss to ourselves. In training our military machine to do this we must eliminate backlash, rattles and useless loads. We must have every part healthy and dependable; no part defective, diseased or obsolete. This can not be if we are to permit 'booze' in any form in our military machine. Alcohol, whether you call it beer, wine, whiskey or any other name, is a breeder of inefficiency. While it affects men differently the results are the same, in that all affected by it cease for the time to be normal. Some become forgetful, others quarrelsome. Some become noisy, some get sick, some get sleepy; others have their passions greatly stimulated. When you stop to consider the thousands in a division, do you not

Allies' Stand on Drink No Argument for Us.

This is the appropriate place to say that the appeal of many opposers of war prohibition to the customs of Great Britain and France in giving, the first a rum ration, the second a wine ration, to their soldiers, is a remarkable case of talking without thinking. The American soldier is already under prohibition, and there is no proposal pending to change it. Long ago we had a "grog ration." Will any of the Senators or Representatives who cite the British "rum ration" as an argument, move to restore our "grog ration"? We had a beer canteen in the last century. There are no bills in Congress for its repeal. *The subject before Congress is whether we will protect the efficiency of industrial workers, just as we have protected the efficiency of our soldiers, since the drinking of war workers is just as perilous to our cause in slowing up supplies.*

We esteem our brave Allies, and in some things we may learn from them, but in temperance progress both France and Britain are nearly a century behind us, neither of them having reached the stand taken by our churches and reformers, with practical unanimity, in 1836, at a national convention in Saratoga, namely, that distilled, malt and vinous liquors, all being alcoholic, are equally dangerous, and should all be barred out by a teetotal pledge. Since then all these drinks have usually been treated alike in American restrictive and prohibitory laws.

However, it should be said with emphasis in refuting those who say as an argument against war prohibition, that European belligerents have not enacted such a law, that all the belligerents in this war have officially recognized, from their entrance into it, that drink is a foe in the rear; and all have either prohibited it—so Russia and Roumania—or restricted it—so Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria. *Indeed all of the beligerants have really reduced its use among their civil population for the war period more than we,* despite our higher standards and experience of prohibition. In France (p. 295) and still more in Britain there are many war prohibitionists, but the leaders feel—we think mistakenly in Great Britain at least—that even the war emergency would not make sufficient appeal to sacrifice to enable the Government to enact and enforce a suspension of what has been for centuries *the daily habit of nearly all the people, rich and poor.* The American people are not daily drinkers to any such extent and so there is no such obstacle here. The words of the Kaiser in 1911, "The nation that drinks the least alcohol will win the next war, for modern war requires sound nerves and a cool head," come back ominously as we read month after month in the Brewers' Journal that Germany since February, 1918, has brewed no real beer, and Austria very little, as it is a choice of beer or bread. In any case the conditions "over here" and "over there" are so different that

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see how vital to efficiency is the elimination of liquor? How can a division of troops be ever ready—ever up on the bit to drive ahead or to thrust the enemy's drive, if through the presence of this insidious evil some soldiers forget their orders, or become noisy when silence is essential, fall asleep when every faculty should be alert?"

Enquiry at War Department on July 20, 1918, as to whether the repeal of General Biddle's order allowing men in uniform to drink liquors at home or when "bona fide guests" had been followed by repeal of similar order of Gen. Pershing allowing our soldiers in France to "buy or receive as a gift wine or beer," brought reply in the negative.

In The Pioneer, Toronto, July 12, 1918, p. 3, statistics are given from Captain Gorden Bates, Officer in charge of Venerial Diseases, Military District, No. 2 (Canada), who has made a careful tabulation of results obtained from examination of 900 venerially affected men, in various hospitals, military and civil, in the United States and Canada. Of those from U. S., 50 per cent showed alcoholic relations, and of these, **6.5% were** from prohibition areas and 93.5% from license areas.

LATEST.—SURGEON GENERAL GORGAS REPORTS VENEREAL RATE OF AMERICAN ARMY IN U. S. IS 21 PER 1,000 YEARLY; IN FRANCE, 47.8.

the appeal to the customs of our Allies is wholly irrelevant. *We are leading, not following, in the worldwide war on drink.**

II. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED NO LESS AMONG MEN WHO PRODUCE MUNITIONS THAN AMONG THOSE WHO USE THEM.

Mr. John A. McSparran, Master Pennsylvania State Grange, states the argument for keeping drink from munition workers thus (p. 168):

As citizens, we farmers are ashamed of the position we are placed in in the treatment of our soldier boys with respect to booze. The soldier boy has given up his social life as well as his business to serve his country, and the taking of the social glass from the soldier is frank admission on the part of the Government that its effects are deleterious; but it must be remembered that back of every soldier boy are two other boys: one preparing food and the other munitions. They do not have to give up their social life or their business, but their failure to meet the severest test of efficiency may make the soldier fail, and hence it is a most cowardly proposition to take booze from the soldier and allow the sheltered civilian to cause his ghastly murder on the field of battle because of lack of supplies.

In former times people used to speak of *an army going to war.* Very early in this colossal conflict, leaders began to say that *the whole nation must go to war, every one doing not his "bit" but his best.* We have discovered there are *really ten lines of battle, every one of which must be one hundred per cent patriotic and one hundred per cent efficient*: the soldier line, the munitions line, the fuel line, the transportation line, the building line, the food line, the money line, the voting line, the home line, the church line.

The need of organizing all these varied forces for efficiency by abstinence and prohibition was strikingly expressed in Chicago on June 12, 1918, at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association, the world's greatest organization of physicians and surgeons, by the new president Dr. Arthur Dean Bevan, who advocated war prohibition in outlining the policy of the association, over 7,000 doctors being in attendance. Dr. Bevan said in part:

"In this crisis when we and our allies are fighting not only for ourselves but also for humanity and civilization, we must organize the entire nation in the most efficient possible way, and this cannot be done without eliminating drink

"Each member of the medical profession as an individual, each county medical society, each state medical society should take an active part in the propaganda against drink, and secure national prohibition not years from now but when it is so badly needed and will accomplish so much good not only for our boys in khaki and in blue, but for the nation in arms."

The Association does not adopt resolution but endorsed this plea for war prohibition by such thunders of applause as left no doubt its President had faithfully expressed its views.

President Wilson said in June, 1918, that we are as likely to lose the war from interruptions of industrial work at home as by anything that may happen on the battlefield. He had strikes especially in mind, but Lloyd George, at the very outset of the war, pointed out a more chronic and far more serious inter-

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* Washington Post, June 17, 1918, reported Mr. Daniel Poling, Associate President of Society of Christian Endeavor, had brought home a letter from Premier Lloyd George, in which he said: "I am following with great interest the war restrictions on alcohol actually enforced and those under consideration in the United States. We have ourselves not been neglectful of the necessities imposed by war. We have stopped entirely the manufacture of spirits; we have cut down the brewing of beer by more than two thirds and the hours during which it can be sold to less than one-third. Should the exigencies of war necessitate further restrictions, we shall follow with interest your campaign for the enforcement of war prohibition in the United States of America."

On Jan. 31, 1917, Associated Press information from Zurich, Switzerland, was that General Gazette for Brewers reported supply of barley for German breweries would be stopped and whole brewing industry brought to a standstill, and not even beer for German army allowed. See further testimony on munitions, p. 29.

ruption. Great Britain, previously relying on a big navy, had suddenly sent its little army, poorly equipped, to help Belgium and France hold back the almost resistless army of Germany, which was abundantly supplied with the most deadly modern instruments of slaughter. British soldiers were slain by thousands for lack of ammunition. To speed up production of munitions British workmen were given double wages. But many of them had learned no use for extra money save to multiply drinks and drunks. Lloyd George told Parliament they were losing one hundred and fifty thousand man-power a day in the munitions works. That was the very fact that made him say: "WE ARE FIGHTING GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND DRINK, AND SO FAR AS I CAN SEE, THE GREATEST OF THESE IS DRINK. I HAVE A GROWING CONVICTION, BASED ON ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE THAT NOTHING BUT ROOT AND BRANCH METHODS CAN BE OF THE SLIGHTEST AVAIL IN DEALING WITH THE EVIL. I BELIEVE IT IS THE GENERAL FEELING THAT IF WE ARE TO SETTLE WITH GERMAN MILITARISM, WE MUST FIRST OF ALL SETTLE WITH DRINK."

We may well consider the power of Drink not only in killing efficiency but also in dominating politics, in the light of that story—*and the sequel*—that even Lloyd George did not dare play St. George to that dragon. Some slight limitations of the amount of precious foodstuffs the distillers and brewers might consume; some shortening of hours for bar rooms, was all he dared to require. The story should nerve our arm to reenforce British war prohibitionists and President Poincare, General Joffre, and others of France who made almost identical statements as to the drink foe, and whose Government made a like surrender to its mighty power in politics. The liquor power has been almost as powerful in American politics, and it is still powerful in many cities, and in some "wet" States, and was influential enough in national politics in 1917 to make the United States Senate swiftly reverse its prohibition, first of beermaking, then of whiskey withdrawals for beverage use. But the doom of Drink is written by the hand of God in war's "curtain of fire," not only because drink wastes efficiency and food and fuel and money, but especially because the liquor dealer' associations have attempted so insolently to lord it in politics.

III. WAR PROHIBITION IS MOST IMPERATIVELY NEEDED TO CONSERVE FUEL.

Even seasoned prohibitionists, in and out of Congress, who know well that the supreme reason for war prohibition is the damage done to man-power of soldiers and industrial workers by the saloon, fearing to be misunderstood, have joined with amateurs in treating war prohibition as if the main thing to do is to stop the waste of food in the *manufacture of drink*. WE WERE LOUDLY CALLED TO RETURN TO THE ANTI-SALOON ATTITUDE, UNDER WHICH WE HAD WON ALL OUR VICTORIES, BY THE UNANIMOUS PETITION SENT TO THE PRESIDENT BY SEVENTEEN HUNDRED COAL OPERATORS, IN NATIONAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, AT PITTSBURGH, OCT. 21-23, 1917, ASKING FOR FIVE MILE PROHIBITION ZONES ABOUT COAL MINES, AS NO LESS ESSENTIAL TO WINNING THE WAR THAN SUCH ZONES ABOUT MILITARY CAMPS. THIS PETITION WAS FORTIFIED BY THEIR EXPERT AND UNANIMOUS OPINION THAT "THE OUTPUT OF COAL IN THE UNITED STATES IS DECREASED 20 TO 30 PER CENT BY DRINKING AMONG MINERS." PROHIBITION WOULD HAVE ADDED, AT THE MINIMUM ESTIMATE, ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY MILLIONS TONS OF COAL PER YEAR—THE ANNUAL OUTPUT BEING SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS OF TONS. THIS INCREASE WOULD HAVE PROVIDED THE ONE HUNDRED MILLION TONS INCREASE DECLARED BY THE FUEL ADMINISTRATION TO BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE SUCCEEDING YEAR, WITH A WELCOME BONUS ALL OF WHICH WOULD

HAVE BEEN USED. THE COSTLY NATION WIDE EXHORTATIONS TO HOMES AND SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES AND MILLS TO SKIMP THEMSELVES ALL THE YEAR TO AVOID A FUEL CRISIS WOULD SO HAVE BEEN RENDERED UNNECESSARY.

It should be noted that this warning call for closing of bar rooms about mines came long enough before the first great fuel crisis to enable the Fuel Administration to save sufficient coal, at the minimum estimate of ten millions of tons a month, to prevent any munition plants from being closed down or any transports being kept waiting in harbors for coal—provided that all transportation of liquors had also been stopped to meet this emergency.

Instead of such preventive action the crisis came with "heatless days" that closed churches and schools, also mills, with the loss of millions in wages as well as profits, and, worst of all, suspension of war work when Britain and France, with their "backs against the wall," were crying to us in agony, "For God's sake, America, hurry."

After the crisis had passed, brewers, at their own request, were ordered to cut off thirty per cent of their normal coal supply, and later, fifty per cent, by the Fuel Administration. But the output of beer did not have any such proportion of decrease, nor have we seen any proof that the brewers, who are shown to be habitual lawbreakers in the last of these briefs ("Why No License?") have been held to those reductions by any vigilant law enforcement agency.

ON JULY 12, 1918, THE COAL OPERATORS AGAIN ASKED FOR THE CLOSING OF SALOONS ABOUT MINES, THROUGH THE NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION, IN A LETTER SENT TO EVERY SENATOR AND REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGERSS, WHICH SHOULD HAVE BROUGHT INSTANT ACTION TO THAT END BY CONGRESS, AS THE PRESIDENT THEN HAD NO CONTROL OF "SALE," BUT ONLY OF THE "MANUFACTURE" OF DRINK.

"Nation Must Go Dry to Get Fuel Supply."

The National Coal Association, represents bituminous coal operators whose annual production is four hundred million tons. It adopted following statement:

"A definite program for increased coal production placed formally before the United States Fuel Administration as the best thought of the industry, carries with it the recommendation that nation-wide prohibition be put into effect at once. The coal production committee of the national association, which formulated the program, also has addressed a letter to each member of Congress, advising him of the recommendation.

"In the opinion of a representative committee of operators, which comprises in its membership delegates from virtually every large coal-producing field in the nation, the country cannot have both booze and sufficient coal this winter.

"This conclusion was reached unanimously after thoro and painstaking investigation by the committee. The National Coal Association is informed that the conclusion is *not only the judgment of the operators, but is concurred in by Frank Farrington, president of the United Mine Workers of America for the State of Illinois.*

Following is the text of the committee's recommendation:

"Regardless of political affiliations of the members of the association, and leaving out of consideration the moral issues involved, and *basing its opinion entirely on economic and patriotic grounds, the committee unanimously and unqualifiedly believes that national prohibition for the period of the war is absolutely necessary to make effective this or any other plan for increased coal production.*

"A comparison of the records of production of mines in wet and dry terri-

tories, furnished ample proof of the need of prohibition. The various instances cited to you need not be repeated here, but they typify the experience of operators thruout the entire country."

A. R. Hamilton, chairman of the committee, made this statement on the committee's action:

"THE COMMITTEE FEELS THAT THE DRINKING EVIL HAS BECOME SO RAMPANT IN THE MINING COMMUNITIES THAT ITS COMPLETE ELIMINATION IS FUNDAMENTALLY NECESSARY IN THE EFFORT TO SPEED UP THE MINES SUFFICIENTLY TO GET THE 100,000,000 ADDITIONAL TONS OF COAL THIS COUNTRY WILL REQUIRE THIS YEAR. IT IS NOW UP TO CONGRESS TO MAKE A CLEAN-CUT CHOICE BETWEEN BOOZE FOR THE MINING COMMUNITIES AND COAL FOR THE WAR AND THE PUBLIC."

It is an amazing contrast to the courage and celerity with which our soldiers meet emergencies in France, that, with this unanswerable proof of the imperative necessity of immediate war prohibition, at least so far as temporary closing of saloons about coal mines, just placed in the hands of the Fuel Administration and of the President, and with the same appeal in the hands of Senators and Representatives just when the revised war prohibition amendment that was drawn by the International Reform Bureau and Senator George W. Norris, which would have ended the sale of liquors with the year 1918, was on the docket of Congress as the next legislation to be voted on, Congress agreed to recess by semi-weekly adjournments from about the middle of July to the 26th of August, during which time at least ten million tons of coal could have been saved by making the mines dry, which would have provided for the nine million tons shortage at that time.

At last, on August 29, 1918, the Senate voted to put on Agricultural bill the war prohibition amendment with six months' delay in its application (to July 1, 1919), yielded as a compromise on President's request to postpone war prohibition to January 1, 1920—the time when it is reasonably sure constitutional prohibition would be at hand. It was nearly a week before the Senate finally passed the bill, and then the House, after its own Agricultural Committee had reported the prohibition amendment, kept it sidetracked a week more while it passed the revenue bill, which contained a billion liquor tax, which, in effect, however intended, could be nothing less than the biggest of all bribes to spare the traffic—a bribe that would jeopardize both war prohibition and the ratification of the amendment.

While this prohibition amendment was suffering suspicious delays, the Fuel Administration issued an order that breweries could have no more coal after December 1, 1918, "until further orders," apparently going Congress "one better" by stopping brewing in December instead of May. But the suspension was no doubt an attempt to prevent or mitigate the fuel crisis, which, however, it would probably not affect materially, as it was too late to bring any considerable increase for 1918; and furthermore it was probable that most breweries, with all their warnings and opportunities, had laid in a supply of coal for the winter, or at least the previously allowed fifty per cent of their supply.

As this action would not meet the emergency proclaimed by National Coal Association on July 12, 1918, and BY THE PRESIDENT ON AUGUST 11, WHEN HE DECLARED THE SCARCITY OF COAL OUR MOST SERIOUS DANGER, with no remedy offered save an exhortation to coal operators and employees to increase the output, the International Reform Bureau sought to amend the Kellogg resolution, adopted by the Senate September 6, 1918, giving President power to stop *sale* of liquors in unlimited zones about coal mines and munition plants, the passage of which urged by Minnesota and Wisconsin legislators ostensibly only to suppress liquor selling in the village of Oliver, Wis., incorporated to prey on munition workers

of the dry cities of Duluth and Superior. It seemed to be too small a reform for Congress to attempt when the full peril faced the whole country and could be averted by an amendment making the resolution mandatory at least to the extent of closing saloons about coal mines for October and November. There was no doubt House would adopt such an amendment if it was brought to vote or the same provision in a separate bill. And so moderate a remedy for so great a peril, even the Anti-Saloon League's legislative agent who opposed the amendment admitted would be concurred in, without doubt, by the Senate if sent there by the House. Approval of this proposal to close saloons about coal mines sixty days by a mandatory provision, presented to House Judiciary Committee by the International Reform Bureau, was moved by its chairman, Hon. E. Y. Webb, M. C., House prohibition leader, who read many supporting petitions of church temperance boards and other temperance bodies, but on account of the opposition of Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin and Congressman Miller of Minnesota and because the Anti-Saloon League's legislative agent did not favor it, it got no other support in that Committee. The same amendment was urged before House Rules Committee, none of whose members supported it in the face of the same opposition.

These facts about fuel are noted that if "heatless days" come, responsibility may be justly distributed.

When this brief went to press (Sept. 16, 1918), it was confidently expected that the President would use his unlimited powers to establish prohibition zones about mines and munition plants and other war work, first in the Wisconsin case, and thereafter only by retail in localities that allow especially scandalous conditions, or MAKE A MAJORITY DEMAND FOR ZONES OF PROHIBITION, WITH CAPITAL AND LABOR BOTH JOINING IN THIS NEW PRESIDENTIAL LOCAL OPTION.

Senator Henry L. Myers, after waiting till September 18, 1918, for President to use his new powers to close saloons about coal mines to remove what he called on August 11 our greatest "danger," namely, fuel scarcity, introduced a bill to establish the five mile dry zones by act of Congress. Bill was referred to Senate Judiciary Committee before whom Senator Myers expects to appear with others to urge immediate passage of this bill to avert a fuel peril, which Congress must either prevent quickly or risk the hot wrath that will make even heatless days warm for all who might have prevented them.

Petitions, letters, telegrams and deputations should be sent to Fuel Administration, and to every Senator and Congressman in behalf of full war prohibition, but especially of this emergency bill to avert fuel crisis.

The Myers bill will, of course only aim to stop sale to people in five-mile radius about coal mines. Breweries and wholesalers will be allowed to ship to people residing outside the five-mile zone on written orders to be kept for inspection by federal officials. This bill is needed for immediate relief which no other Government action will reach or can reach except an order of the President; and this is a legislative act that ought to be done by men of both parties through act of Congress.

More Mine Operators Testify.

And now for the special benefit of any honest doubters who want more testimony on the effect of saloons upon mines, some of the strong evidence coal producers sent to the Senate hearing to show that drink decreases industrial efficiency of miners from 10 to 30 per cent, is subjoined.

J. W. Dawson, Charleston, West Va.:

"After spending 20 years in every department of railroad service, including con-

struction, maintenance, and operation, and 20 years handling the various departments of the coal industry, during which time I had personal charge of constructing and operating three of the largest plants in Virginia and West Virginia, and having just visited the various mining districts of eight different States in the Union, some wet and some dry, and having had personal charge of one of the largest plants in West Virginia, under wet conditions and under dry, **I am fully convinced that any industrial plant can have more, better, and more regular work performed by all classes of labor in a dry State than in a wet one.**

J. M. Clark, of Clark and Krebs, Charleston, West Va.:

"We have been engaged in mining engineering in the State of West Virginia and adjoining States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Virginia for the past 30 years, and have observed the mining conditions under practically all degrees of temperance and intemperance. In the early days of the Pocahontas coal field pay day marked the beginning of one long revel of debauchery, and ofttimes of murder. During subsequent years we have observed conditions under local option and in more recent years under State-wide prohibition in West Virginia. We have no hesitation whatever in stating that the present conditions under State-wide prohibition constiute by far the most prosperous era in the coal-mining industry within our 30 years' knowledge, both for the operators and the employees.

"The living conditions for the miner are vastly improved, especially in reference to his home life and the comfort and education of his children. The homes look cheerful and are well kept; the children are well clothed and happy. As regards the efficiency of the miner, we would estimate that the **average miner has an efficiency of from 10 to 20 per cent greater than during the previous period, when saloons were in close proximity.**

We have discussed the situation with numerous coal operators, and practically the only objection that we have heard in regard to prohibition situation is that it does not cover enough territory. The operators are almost a unit in stating that **if we had no adjoining States where intoxicants could be obtained, conditions would seem to be ideal.** We sincerely hope that your effort may have a strong influence in hastening the day when prohibition will be enforced from ocean to ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf."

Letters of like tenor were sent to the hearing from following mines in Illinois (pp. 316, 317, 318): Moneaqua Coal M. & M. Co., Oglesbay Coal Co., Penwell Coal Mining Co., Assumption Coal and Mining Co., Minonk Coal Co.

The thinking people of the nation have had their patience sorely tried by a long series of patriotic appeals to save food and fuel; to cultivate war gardens and give up everything that is not strictly necessary, when the President or Congress might have accomplished as much as has been done by all these appeals by the courageous suppression for the war of a pro-German trade, which deserves to die, if for nothing else, for its disloyalty, clearly shown in the Senate's investigation of the German-American Alliance. In the fuel situation we have surely reached "the last straw," and it is likely to catch fire.

A widow, whose only son had enlisted, writes that she gave her boy willingly and then adds: "If he comes back wounded, I will nurse him; if he comes back maimed and mutilated I will care for him to the end. But if he comes back degraded by drink, I will never forgive: I will never forgive." Patriotic Americans will forgive unpreparedness for war, and delays, and waste of public funds in making munitions, but *they should not, and perhaps will not, forgive, if, through political cowardice, in these days of heroism and sacrifice, the President and Congress fail to conserve the fuel wasted in saloons, which must be saved or school and churches and munition plants will again be closed this winter; and ships will wait again in our harbors; and citizens will die of cold.*

War Prohibition Constitutional.

When we are facing the fuel famine is a good time to face also the chronic objection to any restraint on the liquor traffic—"It is unconstitutional." The necessity to get the coal to save individual lives and the life of the nation should

make short work of that objection. God put great stores of coal in the earth for us, and we need it to make munitions and carry them, and men to use them, and food for the men; and we need it to "keep the home fires burning;" but the saloons, indifferent to the peril of homes, the peril of the nation, and the peril of the world, will not close their doors even when the National Coal Association says we shall otherwise have an unspeakable fuel famine. Surely the nation has power to act in such an emergency even in peace, as President Roosevelt did when a threatened coal strike made a like emergency. If the arbitrators had not agreed, it is inconceivable he would have stood by inactive and let the nation freeze. This time we can plead not only "the right to life," but the war power, that will justify the President or Congress in doing whatever seems necessary to avert a situation that might paralyze our war movements.

Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, LL. D. (pp. 101-115) quotes many decisions of Supreme Court bearing on the constitutionality of prohibition during war, which he believes *apply equally to war's concluding and most critical chapter, demobilization.* The general tenor of these decisions is concisely expressed in the following words of Senator P. H. Knox (p. 106) in Senate debate May 14, 1917 (Record, p. 2359), in discussing war bills in general:

"The war powers of the Constitution, in my opinion, are dormant, until the status of war is declared by Congress, and then they may be exercised without limitation or qualification, to the extent that the safety of the Nation demands. Of this Congress is the judge, except as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy in the actual conduct of the war and in the case of great emergency or dire necessity may be compelled to act."

An opinion to the same purport by Senator A. K. Shields is found in Congressional Record of May 12, 1917, pp. 2271-2, and on p. 2279 may be found Senator Walsh's quotations from Willoughby on the Constitution.

IV. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO CONSERVE TRANSPORTATION.

It is one of many inconsistencies of Government that is sorely trying the patience of patriots that the freighting of useful goods is greatly restricted while brewers have had unrestricted use of 700,000 cars (p. 177) to carry beer. This is on assumption that all beer made has been transported. If by boat or horse it has equally drawn on transportation facilities. These figures do not include equal use of car and boat space for returning empty barrels nor transportation space used for other liquors, nor transportation space used at sea for importing and exporting liquors and materials for making them. MANIFESTLY THE TOTAL DRAFT ON OUR INADEQUATE TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES HAS BEEN NOT LESS THAN A MILLION CARS A YEAR WHEN WE HAVE NOT HAD TRAINS AND BOATS ENOUGH TO CARRY SOLDIERS AND FOOD AND FUEL FOR OUR WAR FACTORIES AND OUR WAITING SHIPS.

Expert Testimony on Drink's Blight of Industry.

Mr. Deets Pickett submitted at the Senate hearing, without reading, testimoney not second in importance to any, as to the *delay of munition work by drink, first by its slowing effect on miners of coal; second, by its diversion of cars to serve drink-makers and drink-sellers; third, by its slowing up of munition workers* (p. 176-7). The testimony is in part as follows:

The Northern Iron Co. produces more than 50 per cent of the low phosphorus pig iron in the United States. It is an absolute, primary essential in the manufacture of guns, projectiles, and many other appliances used in the conduct of the war. In a letter to Mr. Walter F. Ballinger, of the firm of Ballinger & Perrot, Philadelphia, this company makes public the fact that for weeks in the middle of the winter (1917-18) it had

one of its furnaces shut down on account of the shortage of fuel, while the brewing industry was using hundreds of thousands of tons of coal. After an investigation the company found that it was losing about 16 per cent of the working time of its men because of alcoholic beverages, and that its accidents were increased 43 per cent by the same agency.

Mr. W. S. Pilling, the president of the company, transmitted to Mr. Ballinger a letter signed by the general manager, Mr. L. P. Ross, which says:

"We know nothing that would be as beneficial in the prosecution of the war, and nothing that would add to our staying power as would prohibition." Although both the fuel and railway departments exerted themselves to the utmost to give he Northern Iron Co. relief, they were unable to do so for quite a protracted period, and on February 6 Mr. Ross stated that the Northern Iron Co. was producing only one-quarter of the tonnage it could have produced if fully supplied with fuel. Many other industries were in a similar condition, declares Mr. Ross, and he continues under date of February 6:

"We are convinced that one of the very large contributing causes to the present deplorable and disquieting condition which our country is in is the liquor traffic. For instance, there are hundreds of thousands of tons of fuel now being consumed by the brewers and in the places where alcoholic beverages are dispensed. There is also an enormous number of railroad cars required for the transportation of raw materials and finished product of the breweries throughout the country, when the cars are sorely needed for fuel and war essentials. We are also told of the reduced efficiency of coal miners and workmen in war industries through the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and, from our own experience in the employment of labor, we know this to be a fact."

How Drink Crippled an Essential Industry.

"Without the handicaps incident to the liquor traffic to the coal operators, the present available supply of fuel, and the railroad traffic, it is conceivable that we might be operating our plants to their maximum capacity at this time, when our product is so badly needed in the carrying out of the war program. Without the liquor traffic, we believe that thousands of other war industries, and, in fact, the Nation in general, would be in a correspondingly better condition.

"It does not seem to us as if the American people can afford to allow this menace to industry and economic waste to continue at a time when all of our resources and energy are so badly needed in the conduct of the war."

"There is no question but that there is a serious shortage of labor on railroads, for mining and manufacturing industries, and for our farming industry. In our opinion, the shortage is going to increase as increasing numbers of our men are required for military service. Women and girls are now being employed in manufacturing industries at certain classes of work, on railorads, street car lines, and in many other places where men were formerly employed. This is not, in our opinion, altogether desirable for many reasons. Furthermore, we do not believe there is enough work that is suitable for women to relieve the labor situation. It seems to us, therefore, that in view of the increasing demands on our industries and farms for increased production, especially those materials and food essentials in the conduct of the war, that we should strive in every conceivable way to increase the efficiency of our available supply of labor. Basing our opinion on the above data and also on our observation of many industries with which we are familiar, we firmly believe that the efficiency of the labor in the United States would be increased fully 15 per cent by the establishment of nation-wide prohibition.

"The United States has productive capacity of upward of 40,000,000 tons of pig iron per annum. At the time we entered the war we were producing pig iron at the rate of approxicately 38,000,000 tons per annum. Since that time, however, the production has gradually fallen, until for the months of January and February of this year the production had fallen to a rate of 28,000,000 tons, or a falling off in production of approximately 10,000,000 tons. According to our observation, this falling off has been due to a shortage of fuel and congested railroad traffic.

"We estimate that the breweries and saloons consume coal at the rate of approximately 273,328 three-ton carloads per annum. This amount of fuel would produce approximately 8,197,140 tons of pig iron.

"We have been reliably informed that approximately 350,000 men are engaged in the liquor traffic.

"It is evident to us that if the fuel consumed by the liquor traffic could be turned to the production of war essentials, such as iron and steel, and the labor employed in

the liquor traffic diverted to the mines and industries, there would be ample labor and fuel to develop our maximum capacity. Furthermore, the relief to the railroads of the transportation of materials entering into the manufacture of beer and the beer itself would go a long way toward relieving the railroad congestion and increasing our railroad efficiency.

"In view of all of the above, it seems to us that, as a business proposition, if for no other reason, the country should be put on a dry basis. We know of no one thing which would so increase our resources and add to our staying power in the conduct of the present war as would nation-wide prohibition."

V. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO SPEED UP OUR URGENT SHIP BUILDING PROGRAM.

Reply to Messrs Hurley and Colby.

The expressed apprehensions of Hon. Edward N. Hurley and Hon. Bainbridge Colby, of the U. S. Shipping Board, that taking away beer from ship workers by war prohibition would reduce their efficiency twenty-five per cent by its effect, not on their bodies but on their minds, that is, by the displeasure it would cause, and presumably also by driving many of them to other jobs (pp. 146, 207, 229)—for which fears not a word of proof was brought or even sought from the many shipbuilding plants in "dry" States, were at once refuted overwhelmingly by telegrams of many expert witnesses, *real shipbuilders, who had built ships in "dry" States or "dry" zones, none of whom had found that prohibition disgruntled workmen or drove them away, or in any way hindered the work. Their positive testimony is that prohibition increases efficiency.* That has been fully demonstrated both in laboratories and in workshops.

We are very much indebted to "our friend the enemy" for firing at us the clumsy guess that taking away beer would reduce efficiency 25 per cent, for it has drawn this broadside of refutations from experienced shipbuilders, who do not guess but *know* the effect on labor of building ships in a "dry" environment. Never in any court was any slander ever refuted more swiftly and decisively by unimpeachable witnesses. Among them are the active managers of many great shipbuilding companies, of whom the following are representative:

Newport News Shipbuilding Co. (Va., p. 184).
York Shipbuilding Co. (Va., p. 188).
Newcomb Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. (Va., p. 188).
Merrill Stevens Shipbuilding Co. (Va., p. 188).
Brunswick Marine Shipbuilding Co. (Va., p. 189).
United States Maritime Co. (Va., p. 189).
American Shipbuilding Co. (Va., p. 189).
Potomac Shipyard (Va., p. 314).
Bell-Wallace Boat Yard (N. C., p. 314).
Foundation Ship Co. (Ga., p. 314)
Terry Ship Yard (Ga., p. 314).
Mosspoint Ship Yard (Miss., p. 314).
Southern Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co. (Texas, p. 317).
McBride and Lew Ship Company (Texas, p. 317).
Beaumont Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. (Texas, p. 317).
Detroit Shipbuilding Co. (p. 317).
Great Lakes Engineering Co (Detroit, pp. 210, 317).

Of course alcohol in any quantity reduces efficiency of body and mind. On p. 314 testimony is cited from a lumber company. For two thousand years, since Greece held her Olympic games, it has been universally recognized that athletes must abstain. Curiously enough, many who believed alcohol would weaken athletes did not doubt it would strengthen workmen and soldiers, just as the Administration's spokesmen, in the summer of 1918, as North American suggests, appeared to be "in the position of favoring prohibition to increase the efficiency of the coal mine workers, and in favor of intoxicants to increase the efficiency of the shipyards."

Messrs. Robert Dollar, George F. Cotterill, W. H. Paul Hamus testify for Pacific Coast yards (pp. 261-263, 318).

In the launchings of July 4, 1918, in the United States, 53 wooden ships and 42 steel ships, the tonnage of the Pacific Coast, mostly built in "dry" territory, excelled all other sections. Pacific Coast, 252,000; Atantic Coast, 127,964; Gulf, 57,500; Great Lakes, 37,000.

The following telegram of Mr. J. R. Russell, President of Great Lakes Engineering Works (p. 207) is representative of the testimony from all the above-named builders, who have tried and proved building without booze.

"We have shipbuilding plants in Detroit, La Crosse, and Ashtabula, and know positively that the morale and efficiency of our men has been improved by the change from so-called wet to dry conditions. At conference today of our executive officers, general managers, and superintendents of various plants, serious objections were raised by all present to modification in any way of prohibitory laws now in effect in this State. If any statutory permission is given for the sale of beer and light wines in the neighborhood of our yards, it will positively impair program for delivery of ships we have promised to Shipping Board. We are confident large majority of our employes would concur in the expression of opinion. Prohibition has had such a signal success in improving ship output in Michigan that similar legislation absolutely required, in our opinion, to enable Shipping Board ot carry out its war program for production."

Tommy Mason's Boozeless Builders.

When Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the United States Shipping Board, expressed fears to Congress in 1918 that a nation-wide ban on booze would retard shipbuilding, hundreds of brawny patriots who are pounding out ships in Camden in record time replied:

"Tell it to Tommy Mason!"

Tommy Mason was superintendent of the construction work on the Tuckahoe, the naval collier turned out of the yards of the New York Shipbuilding Company in twenty-seven days, breaking a world's record. After the launching of the Tuckahoe, Charles M. Schwab, director of the shipping board, sought Mason to learn how he and his men had made such phenomenal speed.

"I want to pass your secret along to the other shipyards," said Schwab.

"No booze," replied Mason. "That's the secret

Schwab did not testify before the Senate Committee as expected.*

He might have told that Mason's group of workers, each of whom received a reward from Schwab, not only broke a world's record in turning out the Tuckahoe, but how it has attained a reputation in the Camden shipyards as the gang that can do the fastest work, has fewer absences from all causes, and 50 per cent. fewer accidents than any other group of workmen of the same size in the plant.

He might have told how Mason, when the order of the day in the nation's shipyards was "speed up," watched to see that no boozers got places on his gang. Mason has spent almost a lifetime in the shipyards and experience told him that booze and efficient work don't mix.

There were just two exceptions to Tommy Mason's ban on boozers. They were two riveters, whom he permitted to remain in his gang for awhile, although he knew that they "took a drink or two" in the morning before they came to work. But Mason also discovered that it was several hours each day before these two men reached their maximum speed, and occasionally they failed to report for duty. The superintendent took a pencil and paper and did some calculating. He found out what the delay of these two men was costing the

* Later, Sept. 2, Schwab said to a speed-up meeting of sixteen hundred foremen, "Don't build ships with beer—build them with elbow grease."

work of the gang. He deducted the number or rivets which "a drink or two" in the morning was costing.

He found that sober riveters had a larger average of rivets to their credit, at the end of the week, and the two boozers left. The Tuckahoe's record satisfied him that he is on the right course.

The supreme witness on shipbuilding in war time, the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, in an unanswerable statement in favor of a "dry" environment for shipbuilders, gives the following facts and opinions (pp. 233-239):

"*In every case where we have had a shipyard or a community to go from open saloons to prohibition, there has been an increased efficiency and marked improvement.*

"Perhaps I might illustrate that by the case of Newport, R. I., and Mare Island, Cal. At Mare Island we have one of the largest shipyards, where we are now building the *California,* a great dreadnaught, and destroyers and other craft. In Newport, R. I., we have a large plant, where we make torpedoes. They are both very important places and very efficient. Some time ago the Commandant of the Mare Island Navy Yard, Capt. Harry George, a very capable officer, recommended that Mare Island be placed in the 5-mile zone district. His primary purpose was to protect the enlisted men who were under training but also to make a better condition for the men who were working in the shipyard. When his recommendation reached Washington and it became known, there were not a few protests from Mare Island against such an order; and there were not a few people who said that if this order was put into effect the men who were employed in the shipbuilding at Mare Island would resent it, and the product would be decreased. I looked into the matter very thoroughly and took some weeks to do so. After an investigation made by naval officers and others the order was issued. *Today the very men, or many of them, who protested against this order, approve it. The efficiency of that yard has steadily improved.* It was excellent then, and the great mass of men who work in that yard were sober and temperate men. But the temptation of saloons at the door of the yard did cause some of the young men to drink, whose efficiency was thereby impaired. We have increased our men at Mare Island in the last four months by 400. The other day we launched a destroyer from the Mare Island Navy Yard which broke the world's record in time of construction, much of the work on which had been done since Mare Island became a dry district.

"At Newport, R. I., last year we had 20,000 men under training. We had about 3,000 men making torpedoes. The condiitons there were so deplorable because of the saloons that I had not one but scores and hundreds of letters form fathers and mothers of boys who were being trained in Newport protesting that something ought to be done. I referred the matter to Captain Bryan, who was the commandant of that district, and after trying by every possible method *to get the people in the city and the proprietors of saloons to co-operate in securing a better condition, and failing, Captain Bryan recommended earnestly the five-mile zone.* Captain Beach, who is the commandant of the torpedo works and to whom is given the duty of making torpedoes, the most essential instruments in this war, wrote not only once but several times, and earnestly appealed to have a five-mile zone in that district, because he feared that if one or two or three men at the factory should become intoxicated something might happen to the works; and he regarded it as the best influence for the carrying on of this important industry that a dry zone should be created around Newport.

That was done, and some of the people who opposed it, and some people who doubted the wisdom of it, believe that it was a wise act. THERE IS NOT A SKILLED WORKMAN OR UNSKILLED WORKMAN IN NEWPORT, WHETHER HE BELIEVED IN IT OR NOT, WHO HAS NOT SAID, BY HIS ACTS, "I AM JUST AS WILLING TO MAKE A SACRIFICE, IF NEED BE, FOR THE WAR AS I EXPECT MY BROTHER IN UNIFORM TO MAKE." I BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION WHO ARE IN THE NAVY YARDS—AND THEY ARE VERY HIGH-CLASS MEN—EVEN THOUGH THEY PERSONALLY WOULD BE OPPOSED TO THIS MOVEMENT, WOULD SAY TO THEMSELVES, 'IF MY BROTHER WHO IS IN THE ARMY AND MY BROTHER WHO IS IN THE NAVY CAN HAVE IMPOSED UPON THEM DURING THIS WAR THE CONDITION THAT HE CAN NOT FOLLOW HIS HABITS OR HIS TASTES, I AM WILLING TO DO THE SAME THING." I HAVE FOUND IN THIS WAR THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEN IN UNIFORM AND MEN OUT OF UNIFORM IN SUPPORTING THE WAR, AND THAT IT IS A MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE SPIRIT OF THE MEN IN THE NAVY YARDS OR OTHER SHIPBUILDING YARDS OR IN MUNITIONS PLANTS TO THINK THAT THEY WOULD STOP WORK OR LESSEN THEIR WORK BY REASON OF SUCH LEGISLATION.

"I know them very well; I am in very close touch with them. I visit nearly every navy yard in this coast every year. I know the spirit of the men; I know their feeling. You can go into any navy yard on the Atlantic coast, and you will find men who would like to have prohibition and men who are opposed to it. You will find varying views, like lawyers, or doctors, or business men. *But the opinion that production would be decreased by prohibition is contrary to all experience. Experience shows efficiency is increased. One ounce of experience is worth a pound of opinion.*

"I have not spoken of the Naval Gun Factory at Washington. We have here in Washington a Naval Gun Factory that will soon be one of the biggest gun factories in the world. We have increased the number of men during the last six months over 2,000. The efficiency of that yard has steadily improved. Congress made it dry. We have not heard a criticism or a word from any man in that yard against that action. And nobody has quit work and nobody has lessened his efficiency. Most of them were efficient before. Understand me, I do not advocate any policy on the ground that if a man takes a drink he is going to be inefficient. But I NEVER KNEW A MAN WHO DRANK A LONG WHILE WHO COULD DO ANYTHING AS WELL AS HE COULD HAVE DONE HIS WORK IF HE DID NOT DRINK. TOTAL ABSTINENCE PROMOTES EFFICIENCY EVERYWHERE."

As to the effect of prohibition on great industries in general the newest testimony comes from Detroit (pp. 275-293), the largest city under prohibition, whose foremost manufacturers and business men, headed by Mr. Henry M. Leland, of "Lincoln Motor Company," sent a statement to Congress, dated June 22, 1918, rebutting the opinions of Messrs. Hurley and Colby. From that statement the following representative paragraphs are taken, in proof that even in fifty-two days the new prohibition law of Michigan had increased the efficiency of labor.

"There is no division of opinion among our leaders. They are unanimous in in giving emphatic testimony to the wonderful benefits prohibition is producing. Our big concerns are reporting fewer absentees of men, fewer accidents, greater unity, and higher efficiency on the part of their employees. Their men come to work now with clear heads and steady hands on Monday mornings and after holidays. Detroit's experience has proved beyond a possibility of doubt that the wage earners do not insist on their beer as the price for their loyalty; and that, instead of prohibition causing any industrial revolution or disorganization, it, on the other hand, is a most valuable

contribution to industrial efficiency, higher productivity, and conservation of man power—all of which are of very vital consideration to our country in these war times."

The American Car and Foundry Co., of Detroit, through F. M. Stevenson, gives this testimony on same date as above:

"We find that since May 1 our general working conditions have improved very much, production has increased, and we believe the well-being of our workmen and their families has been considerably benefited by the elimination of booze. *We notice that our men are now in good condition on Monday mornings* to begin their weeks' labor, whereas formerly we had a large percentage fo workmen carrying "hangovers" from their week end dissipations, and many of these men were entirely unfit to take up their duties on Monday mornings. Our records also show that *less serious accidents have occurred,* and this is quite remarkable inasmuch as our force has been rapidly increasing during the past six weeks, now totaling approximately 8,000 men on day and night shifts."

Mr. R. E. Olds, President of Reo Motor Co., two days later, wrote:

"PROHIBITION HAS ADDED TO THE NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS OF EMPLOYEES, INCREASED THEIR EFFICIENCY, AND HAS RESULTED IN GREATLY INCREASED PRODUCTION AND FEWER ACCIDENTS. WITH SALOONS LARGE NUMBERS OF TOOLS STOOD IDLE AFTER PAY DAYS; ASSEMBLERS COULD NOT PROCEED ON ACCOUNT OF SHORTAGE OF FINISHED PARTS CAUSED BY THE ABSENCE OF EMPLOYEES. AS SOON AS EMPLOYEES HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A COMPARISON OF CONDITIONS A GREAT MAJORITY OF THEM JOINED WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS IN FAVORING ELIMINATION OF SALOONS."

Mr. S. S. Kresge, the well-known merchant, also of Detroit, repeated at the hearing information received directly *from Henry Ford's factory,* which has forty thousand employees, that on the first Monday in April, 1918—that was the last wet month—2,620 persons failed to report for duty; on the first Monday of May, 1,628—1,002 less. On the second "dry" Monday the record was about one hundred better than on the first.

In explanation of the fact that a conisderable number were off duty the first two "dry" Mondays, it should be remembered that some drinkers lay in a supply before prohibition goes into effect. Also that the "wet" State of Ohio is only a few hours ride away from Detroit and is doubtless visited on Sunday by some of these highly-paid workmen.

We shall not get a full exhibit of the great benefits of prohibition until some time after all States have gone "dry," when stocks laid in by drinkers for the prohibition era are generally exhausted, which will be about the time the new century reaches its majority, in 1921. The cities of Indiana that border on Ohio, Illinois and Kentucky have no fair chance to get the benefit of Indiana's prohibition law. Twenty-one automobiles have been wrecked in the vicinity of Winchester, Ind., since the Indiana prohibition law went into effect all of which accidents the authorities say have been due to the excessive use of intoxicants. Randolph county, of which Winchester is the county seat, adjoins Ohio, which is not dry territory, and the motor parties have been going into that state to get liquor. All such cases are piling up arguments for national prohibition, as a war measure for the immediate emergency, and constitutional national prohibition to seal the banishment of these efficiency-killing, law-defying saloons from the whole land—erelong it shall be from the world when we have proved its full value in a nationwide test.

Why Fears of Labor Unrest From War Prohibition Are Unwarranted.

Replying to intimations by Messrs. Hurley and Colby that labor might be dissatisfied and leave work if beer was prohibited, Mr. E. C. Dinwiddie said to the Committee: (1) that such fears have not been realized in the big industrial cities that have gone under prohibition in time of peace—Atlanta, Denver, Seattle, Detroit: (2) that such fears of labor unrest are less likely to be realized in war time when people are used to sacrifices for winning the war; (3) that under national prohibition workmen can not run from a "dry" to a "wet" State. They will be like the fellow who was 'all dressed up and no place to go.'

Mr. Dinwiddie also submitted a representative letter from Burton Crankshaw of Nashua (N. H.) Manufacturing Company, showing groundlessness of the common charge that prohibition would drive workmen from town or State (p. 257):

"In reply to your letter of May 31 making inquiries as to the working of the prohibitory law, I would say that in the Nashua Mills we have found no loss of help. Much was said before the 1st of May that there would be a large number of working people moving to Massachusetts, especially Poles and Lithuanians. Then, after the 1st of May many rumors were circulated of the number that left our city. I took the pains to examine our records and found that the average number of male Polanders and Lithuanians who left us each week in April were 2.7 per cent of those whom we employed. For three weeks following the 1st of May of the prohibition that had decreased to 2.5 per cent. I found that we actually made a gain of five male Poles for the month of May."

Additional letters from Manchester, the other large city of the State, tells the same story.

Mr. Charles L. Huston, Vice President of Lukens Iron & Steel Co., Coatesville, Pa., gave following testimony on the same point from Coatesville, "dry" by local option (p. 265):

"Dire prophecies had been put forth when this action was taken of what was going to come of it, prophecies that the industries could not continue to work, industries which were employing a great many men, and particularly a large percentage of foreign-speaking men. Those men, having been accustomed to the regular use of drinks, it was claimed they would not stay, that they would leave the town. However, after the matter had been running for some time they found out that that was entirely erroneous, and upon careful inquiry we could learn of but two or three men who had left and stated that they were leaving because they could not get drinks in the town. On the contrary, men came to us seeking employment and said that they were glad to get employment in a town where liquor was not licensed to be sold. Accidents were greatly reduced, accidents resulting from carelessness, and absences on Monday mornings and the days following pay day were very greatly reduced, the men coming out to work instead of being mysteriously absent.

"A Polish man who had been told that he would have to get along without his liquor said, 'No beer, no whiskey, me no work.' He was told that he would have to manage to get along without it in some way, and a little later he said to the same man, 'No beer, no whiskey, me buy a house.' And he has continued with us and is a very good man, a faithful workman, up to the present time.

"I inquired from one of our men if he had heard any men express themselves, men not considered intemperate but accustomed to take a drink on the way to work. He said, 'yes,' that just the day before he had heard one such man say that he had been in the habit regularly of taking a couple of drinks at the saloon on his way to work and a couple of drinks on his way home. He thought he needed it. He thought he needed it to keep up his efficiency in his work, but he said that now that the saloons were closed, 'I can't get it here and I won't go out of my way to seek it, so I am going without it, and I am a 100 per cent better man.'"

Prohibition drove some people from Colorado to Wyoming, but they were of such a quality as gave Wyoming strong impetus to prohibition to prevent it from becoming the sink of the prohibition commonwealths on all sides. When

national prohibition comes, it is to be hoped such people will leave the country. We can well afford to give them free passage back to their homelands for good riddance.

Reply to Gompers.

The apprehension of labor trouble if beer should be taken from workmen, expressed by Messrs. Hurley and Colby, and generally understood to be the feeling of the President, seems to have been inspired by frequent previous intimations to the same effect from Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, whose letters and speeches against prohibition always carry as their undertone the sentiment he learned in Britain—

"Blast his eyes, whoever he tries
To rob the poor man of his beer."

When Messrs. Hurley and Colby expressed the opinion that taking away beer would lessen efficiency of shipbuilders 25 per cent, it was so contrary to

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Citizens should study all the columns in following table showing not only coal used but capital and employment relations in various lines of business. This does not include coal used in saloons but only in breweries. Figures from U. S. Census, 1910,

	Establishments.	Employees.	Capital.	Coal Used.
Boots and Shoes	1,918	198,297	$222,324,000	332,758
Bread and Bakery products	23,926	144,322	212,910,000	829,526
Clothing (men's)	6,354	271,437	275,320,000	146,126
Printing and Publishing	31,445	258,434	588,346,000	506.525
Liquors, Malt	1,414	54,579	671,158,000	2,990,357

The 25 per cent loss Messrs. Hurley and Colby guessed would come to labor efficiency had neither facts nor experience to back it; but it is interesting to find that same per cent loss named by an expert in coal mining as the actual loss, not from taking beer away but from keeping it. Here is the item from Patriot Phalaux of July 5, 1918: "On a recent Tuesday the president of the Citizens' Title and Trust Company, of Uniontown, Pa., was at Dunbar talking with the superintendent of the Dunbar Furnace Company's coal mine. The superintendent was asked, 'How are you getting along today?' The reply was, 'Seventy-five of our men were at Clark's saloon over yonder yesterday and we couldn't run; and fifty of them are there today, so that we are running light." His testimony was that the detriment to coal production produced by the saloon was at least 25 per cent. The conditions in the coal regions are aggravated by the high wages that miners are now receiving, which make it possible for them to work three or four days and then booze the rest of the week. The coal operators of the Pittsburgh district who stated that prohibition would increase the output of coal 5,000,000 tons in the Pittsburgh disrict alone, probably fell short of what would prove to be the actual fact."

If the contentions of Messrs. Gompers, Hurley and Colby are correct they should straightway placard our streets with the slogan, "Booze will win the war."

The U. S. Statistical Abstract shows the number employed for each million dollars invested in six representative industries, and the ratio of wages paid to capital invested, which is as follows: Lumber, 597 employed, 27.1 per cent; textiles, 574—23.9 per cent; leather, 469—23.5 per cent; paper and printing, 369—21.3 per cent; iron, 284—17.6 per cent; liquors, 77—5.6 per cent.

Mr. John Spargo, long a socialist, now active in new National Party, speaking in Oct., 1917, to City Club, of Cleveland, said: "The need for alcohol for industrial and military purposes has become so great that we could use all that the distilleries and breweries of the nation can produce, and more. **For the first time in the history of modern civilizaion, that is to say, for the first time since the organized liquor traffic came into existence as a menace to civilization, it has become possible for us to remove it from our midst without any economic dislocation whatever; without displacing labor or closing a single brewery or distillery. Each of us, in so far as we believe in the great vision of industrial democracy, are under deep moral compulsion to urge Congress to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. There can never be anything like a great and worthy industrial democracy until we have abolished the liquor traffic. That alcoholism is the geratest single obstacle to the realization of our social ideal hardly permit of any question.**

experience that it brought from other employers all over the country, as we have shown, a storm of refutation. *Why is it that labor leaders have not overwhelmed Mr. Gompers with protests against his insulting intimations that labor would not calmly give up its beer even if Congress should require it on patriotic and humanitarian grounds?*

All who know labor unions intimately will find the answer at once in the fact that organized employees do not feel as free to express individual opinions as do employers, and it naturally takes some courage for lieutenants of Mr. Gompers to oppose him or even dissent publicly from his views. Besides, workmen are not so ready with the pen as their employers. Nevertheless it can be shown that MR. GOMPERS IN DEVOTING A LARGE PART OF HIS TIME TO OPPOSING PROHIBITION, DOES NOT REPRESENT DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, MUCH LESS THE TWENTY TIMES LARGER ARMY OF AMERICAN BREADWINNERS.

Just as Cardinal Gibbons, though senior American Cardinal, in no sense speaks for the Catholic Church when he opposes prohibition—did not even cerry the Catholics of Maryland with him when he opposed ratification—so Mr. Gompers, though President of the American Federation of Labor, has no mandate from it against prohibition. More of the eminent Catholic leaders stand for the suppression of the saloon than for its continuance, and so there are more eminent labor leaders that fight the drink than defend it. (See Stelzle's "Why Prohibition," pp. 118-161).

In Mr. Gompers' letter to Representative E. Y. Webb, dated Dec. 6, 1917, in opposition to constitutional prohibition, he said: "I do not address you and through you the Judiciary Committee as the officer of any organization, but as a man and a citizen." Tell it out to those who have thought the American Federation of Labor is speaking through him when he attacks prohibition, and intimates that American workmen will not stand it. Furthermore, Mr. Gompers, at Senate Committee hearing, in explaining why the conventions of the American Federation of Labor had never voted on prohibition, read (p. 241) from Article III, Sec. 8, of the Federation's Constitution the following inhibition: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

Because prohibition is a party issue to the Prohibition Party, though wholly non-partisan in bills and laws of Congress, he rules that nothing can be said or done about it in the Federation's conventions. Sticklers for consistency might ask if the spirit of that article is not violated when the President of the Federation habitually does the very same sort of work that paid attorneys of liquor associations did in Washington in former years, but seem to find it unnecessary to do since Mr. Gompers has become their active champion.

We do not charge that Mr. Gompers receives money payment from the brewers. Any man familiar with politics in Washington does not need to be reminded that men who have to get themselves reelected every year may be rewarded by services in that connection. It is significant that at least forty of the constituent bodies in the American Federation of Labor are bartenders unions and the like. The brewers and liquor dealers apparently see an opportunity to reciprocate by allowing their employees to organize and back Mr. Gompers for

reelection, and at the same time incline other labor unions to stand by them as "brothers" in trouble when prohibition is threatened.*

To return to our subject, though Mr. Gompers professes to act unofficially in opposing prohibition, he has claimed twice in presenting petitions against prohibition to Congress, the first, a petition of labor unions in 1916, the second of labor leaders in 1918, that the petitions represented really, though unofficially, the sentiments of the two millions of labor unionists in the Federation.

This is imporatnt if true. Is it true?

Mr. Charles Stelzle conclusively refuted the claim of Mr. Gompers that the first petition represented, by vote of their labor unions, 2,082,637 union workingmen. He showed that although the petition confessedly included no labor unions save those affiliated with the Federation, it claimed to represent 10,000 more than the membership of the Federation as given in its own official minutes. It turned out that thousands were counted twice, some three and even four times in different organizations, local, state, national and special. Only 22 out of 48 States were represented, and only 445 local labor bodies out of 22,000.§

The editor also examined that petition, and noted that *the unions petitioning Congress against prohibition were only one fiftieth of those in the Federation, and all of them were from States then "wet,"* which, therefore, had no knowledge of the subject. If an attorney should call 445 character witnesses who were all obliged to confess they had no first-hand acquaintance with the accused man, and knew only what they had heard from others at a distance, the lawyer would be fined for contempt of court. And any one with any saving sense of humor will laugh that petiiton out of court as if it were the voice of frogs in the swamp croaking that they did not believe it could be healthy to live high and dry.

Union Labor Favors Prohibition Wherever Tried Out.

THE PETITIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITION FROM "DRY" STATES ARE FOR IT. The editor has for years kept tab on petitions to Congress for moral measures, and he has not found any petition against prohibition from any State that has tried it. Here are samples of the uniformally favorable testimony of organized labor in "dry" States, selected from many opinions quoted in prohibition debate on Dec. 17, 1917, by Representative E. Y. Webb, from labor leaders of Washington, Colorado, Arizona, Idaho, Iowa and Oregon:

State of Washington.

I was opposed to the passage of the prohibition act in this State. To the great body of our working men, however, the law has been a distinct blessing.

H. P. MARCH,
President Washington State Federation of Labor.

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* It would be pertinent for those who support Mr. Gompers to work for labor to ask who pays some of the big bills that must have been incurred in his work for liquor, which clearly could not be legally drawn from the treasury of the Federation of Labor under the very article Mr. Gompers has quoted to show it can not take action for or against prohibition. Who paid the fare of Mr. Gompers to Albany to oppose ratification of national constitutional prohibition? (He was challenged by a prohibition leader of that State to deny he had a "working agreement with the brewers.") Who paid for the printing of his letter to the House Judiciary Committee as a full page ad in the Washington Star of Dec. 16, 1917? If he paid these bills personally, in what way have the beneficiaries of his anti-prohibition efforts reciprocated? Some are saying that a man who seems to be the champion at Washington both of liquor and labor will be a dangerous man in the industrial shake up that must follow the war. The writer would feel so but that Mr. Gompers seems wholly lacking in that "magnetic leadership" that has made the followers of Blaine and Bryan and Roosevelt ready to follow them passionately wherever they lead. In fifty cities in the spring of 1918, the writer expressed to audiences mostly of workmen at factories and on the streets, some of the criticisms of Mr. Gompers that are printed here, and no one ever spoke in his defense or even looked displeased. But for the compliments he gets from political leaders, some of whom would curry his favor, some of whom fear, we think without due cause, his oft-repeated threats, his leadership of labor might soon end.

§ See p. 153 of Mr. Stelzle's book, "Why Prohibition," which conclusively shows liquor is everywhere the supreme foe of labor, and that labor's best leaders and best unions say so.

Colorado.

I voted against prohibition. I am now irrevocably opposed to the saloon. You could not dig up a corporal's guard of trade-unionists who would vote for a return of the saloon.

WILLIAM C. THORNTON,
July 22, 1917. President Denver Trades and Labor Assembly.

When Mr. Gompers again in 1918 (p. 242) made the claim that a petition signed only by labor leaders personally, at the request of the President of the Brewery Workers International Union, represented anti-prohibition sentiments of all but "a very small minority" of the Federation, Senator Thompson presented a communication from Mr. Willard Price, of San Francisco, sent to the hearing (p. 242) in which he said he had "signed statements from labor union officials and delegates" to the 1918 Convention of American Federation of Labor "representing 600,000 *labor unionists declaring in favor of war time prohibition.*" This statement and the foregoing facts plainly indicate that the Federation is by no means so generally opposed ot prohibition as Mr. Gompers has claimed. The unions in "wet" States, who know nothing about prohibition directly, seem inclined to take Mr. Gompers' word that it is no good, and to sympathize with the forty bartenders unions that plead for their sympathy. There is nothing to show there is any considerable number of workingmen from the "dry" States that stand with Mr. Gompers in the fight against prohibition, to which he devotes so much time that might more apropriately be devoted to those things which the Federation has endorsed. Has no one of his associates the courage to call him to order on that point?

Mr. Gompers, promoted from cigar maker and retail tobacconist to labor leader, carries the trade idea into unionism. He has none of the knightly idealism that Hon. T. V. Powderly put into the Knights of Labor; none of the world-embracing statesmanship of British labor, with its great program of world reconstruction, which the American Federation of Labor has refused to endorse.

Is Mr. Gompers a True Patriot?

He is praised for patriotism by those who have only noted his war talks. But an examination of his record and that of the Federation will show that both have sounded a note that sounds very much like a call to rebellion against decisions of the courts that enjoin labor trusts just as they enjoin other trusts in order to prevent anticipated injustice. Boston papers quote Mr. Gompers as saying in 1917 in his Labor Day message to Massachusetts workers: "Neither the judiciary nor precedents will be permitted to interfere with human liberty and betterment."

While Mr. Gompers intimates revolt at decrees of court and cries defiantly to Congress, "Pass this law and you will hear from nearly every labor man in the country," he also says meekly: "When the President comes to the conclusion that the production of beer should be minimized, you won't hear a word of opposition come from the lips of labor." Of the three branches of Government, Legislative Judicial and Executive, he seems to be submissive only to the Executive.

Some leader of labor with larger vision is needed to marshall the millions of breadwinners that do not rally under Mr. Gompers' too materialistic banner. Let leaders of wider vision inaugurate here a labor program as broad as that of British Labor, which includes intellectual as well as manual workers, and fights opium and booze as well as capitalistic injustice.

"Personal Liberty."

Returning to our shipbuilding program, how mean the old cry of "personal liberty" would sound, that synonym of personal selfishness and personal deviltry, from the lips of men working on ships urgently needed to defend the world's liberty! Many of the ship builders have fled to us from foreign tyrannies to give their children the blessings of our "larger liberty." And the very liberty of our own land is in peril from the Supertyrant. Mr. Gompers and Messrs. Hurley and Colby have misunderstood these men, for never have workmen anywhere revolted when liberty to drink was taken away by City, State or Nation. They drink when drink is allowed, but know in their heart of hearts when they have been a few months in our atmosphere that the American way of abstinence is better than old Europe's boozing ways.

VI. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO CONSERVE FOODSTUFFS. Bishop James Cannon, Jr. (p. 157) puts the conservation part of the war prohibition plea thus: "Are we not justified in restricting the nonessentials of life in order to increase the essentials? On any other question but the liquor question there would not be any doubt. It is only when we touch this that we are called fanatics and cranks, and it is said that we do not think this is a matter of judgment but as a fad." Liquor organs say that the amount of foodstuffs destroyed is exaggerated. Then they proceed to admit three billions of pounds used for liquor in barley, corn and rice (Brewers' Year Book for 1917, p. 174). But there are a dozen more foods that are destroyed to make drink, the others being rye and oats and hops and grapes and apples and peaches and pears and potatoes and turnips and beet root and sugar and molasses, "and then some" for adulterations.

THE TOTAL OF FOODSTUFFS DESTROYED YEARLY IN MAKING INTOXICATING DRINKS WAS ESTIMATED BY PROF. IRVING FISHER OF YALE UNIVERSITY, PROF. T. N. CARVER OF HARVARD AND OTHERS, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR (QUOTED IN SENATE DEBATE MAY 12, 1917), AS SEVEN BILLIONS OF POUNDS A YEAR, WHICH WOULD PROVIDE SEVEN-EIGHTS OF A POUND PER DAY FOR EVERY FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Brewers' Year Book does not agree with these figures, but *confess they waste yearly enough food grains to equal the energy requirements of* 1,880,000 *men.* EVEN BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION, THE BREWERS WERE IN 1917 WASTING FOOD GRAINS SUFFICIENT FOR THE ENERGY REQUIREMENTS OF ALL THE MEN IN ALL THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Beer consumes twice as much food as whiskey, which shows that the President and Congress left the conservation basis when they cut off whiskey-making and allowed brewing to go on. There was whiskey enough on hand for beverage uses for two years, and a demand for use of some distilleries in making munition alcohol; and so, even without legislation, whiskey making would probably have been curtailed. In any case not more than one-fourth of total waste of foodstuffs was saved by stopping whiskey-making. Add to that the saving of one-eighth of waste through beer, which is Dr. H. W. Wiley's estimate of real saving made by order reducing alcoholic content of beer, in which there was some juggling between "content" "by weight" and "volume," makes waste *of half a pound of diversified food each day for every family in the United States, on basis of one hundred and ten million population.* That is enough to keep alive twenty millions of families in Belgium, Servia, Armenia and Syria and other countries crying for food—dying for lack of it. *We have "bumper" crops but none to spare for bumpers while millions need it for food.*

Enquiry by the editor of this brief on July 20 at the Food Administration office brought the information that there was nothing later to report than the President's and Mr. Hoover's letters to Senator Morris Sheppard on May 28 and June 4, 1918, respectfully, and the official comment added by Mr. Hoover. The President said:

"My own judgment is that it is wise and statesmanlike to let the situation stand as it is for the present, until at any rate I shall be apprised by the Food Administration that it is necessary in the way suggested still further to conserve the supply of food and feed stuffs."

Mr. Hoover's response is thus expressed in comment officially added to his letter to Senator Sheppard:

"I wish to say emphatically that from a strictly food conservation point of view I should like to see the use of foodstuffs suppressed in all drinks, hard and soft. * * * **If the American people want prohibition it should prohibit by legislation.** * * * **If the American people or Congress will stop the sale of distilled liquors the administration will find no difficulty in stopping brewing.**"

It has been difficult to find out if foodstuffs are being used to make munition alcohol. If they are, the President is not only authorized but "directed" to save such waste of food by commandeering for redistilling, whiskey on hand. The question of fact seems now to be settled. The Patriot Phalanx of July 5, 1918, prints a news item from Peoris, which says: "Corn is being purchased in large quantities and rushed to the plants"—that is, the distilleries that have been forbidden to manufacture beverage whiskey and are now making munition alcohol.

Dr. Carl Alsberg, Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, stated to the editor of this brief that early in the war he gave the estimate that cost of redistilling whiskey into munition alcohol would not be more than one and a half cents per gallon. The expense might be slightly more now, but nothing worthy to be considered, nor even the extra cost of whiskey, in comparison to the saving to the nation by stopping the traffic. If whiskey could not be sold as a beverage after Dec. 31, 1918, it would be natural that those who had whiskey on hand at the last might have to lose on the left over stock a considerable part of the 400 per cent increased price added by the economic effect of the previous act of Congress in stopping manufacture. It is probable, however, they would get nearly if not quite the half value, which would redeem the whiskey securities. The Administration has power in any case to pay enough to avert a general bank disturbance if necessary, and *whole value of whiskey securities if paid would be saved in cutting off for one year the money spent in saloons.*

The Plea for Wine.

A double plea is made by representatives of California wine interests, first, that fruit is not of great importance in the food conservation scheme; and, second, that wine and beer are harmless "temperance drinks."

As to the plea for exemption because fruit is not as much needed as wheat and meat, the answer is that *it is not so much food as man-power that we need to save, and therefore the important thing is to get rid of the saloon,* and to do that we cut off wine, as well as its boon companions, whiskey and beer. The weakest wine is stronger than the strongest beer, and the strongest wine is nearly as strong as whiskey. Most of the drink tragedies of history have been due to wine, for whiskey and beer are relatively modern drinks.

That there is much drunkenness in wine countries, and that even moderate use of wine reduces efficiency and injures health is fully shown in a paper by Miss Cora F. Stoddard of Scientific Temperance Federation (Congressional Record, June 27, 1917, p. 4741) from whose closing paragraphs we quote:

The Wine Way to Drunkenness Pictured.

"Vance Thompson, the well-known journalist, in his book on "Drink," speaks out of personal observation of what has happened in France and Italy: 'The greater part of my life I have lived in wine countries. Always one remembers the best of life; the dirty and tragic parts slip out of mind. And so with the wine lands. Go to the real facts of life—banish the haze of poetic fancy—and what you see is not the cannikin-clinking merriment of comic opera, but a sadder, drearier way of life. I am speaking of lands where the grapes grow, where wine is 'natural, pure and cheap.' It is there at its best. The alcohol, always a poison, is, in its least harmful form, concealed in the beneficent juice of the grape—hidden in suavity and perfume. And what it does to the race of men, dwellers in sunlight, you know; for you have shuddered at these crippled and distorted generations, with their beggars and idiots, bearing one and all—to the eye of the physiologist—the stigmata of alcoholic penalties.

"'Let there be no doubt about it: the wine way to drunkenness is a way like any other. You say it is cleaner, with gayer prospects and brighter skies? Nine-tenths of that is cant and cheap apologia of second-rate, brandy-loosened peets. It is not a clean way; if you have followed the trail of the wine-drunkard, home-faring.'

"If the United States really intends to stop waste of food and human power by alcohol, it must include the prohibition of the use of fruits as well as of grain in the manufacture of liquor for beverage purposes."

As to California grapes, it is admitted (p. 83) by Representative Kahn, of California, that they could be made into grape juice. And Representative Randall of same State says the wine grapes, dried, may be fed to hogs—another case of "raising more hogs and less hell." Mr. Kahn also said (p. 85) on June 17, 1918, that in four to five months "they would be able to harvest their grapes and make their wine." That was just about the time the bill before Congress, when the President interposed allowed in naming Nov. 1, 1918, as the date for wine-making to cease. Mr. Randall called attention to the fact (p. 133) that the two largest counties of California, from a wine-grape producing standpoint, are both "dry," save one city. Both voted as did the whole State, outside of San Francisco, for statewide prohibition. that would eliminate the wine-grape growing business entirely. And the Brewers' Journal, July, 1918, contains this significant item: "The Valley Fruit Growers' Association, which met in Fresno last month, adopted a resolution urging Governor Stephens to take measures looking to the closing of all saloons in California during the war." Mr. Randall presented a telegraphic petition to Congress for war prohibition from the California Fruit Growers' Association in July, 1918.

VII. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO CONSERVE MONEY.

The annual cost of drink and its consequences is shown in detail in Congressional Record of July 6, 1917, in speech of Senator W. H. Thompson. THE TOTAL IN ROUND NUMBERS, IS SIX BILLIONS OF DOLLARS—MORE THAN TWO LIBERTY LOANS. The average cost of drink and its consequences per family is $300. Think what it would mean not only to the nation and the world but to our homes in future habits of thrift, if every drinker's family should buy six of the $50 Liberty bonds!

Whiskey Securities Bogie Shown to be Straw.

Curiously enough a reform that would save six billion dollars a year, the direct and indirect cost of the drink, has been in danger of being blocked because certain speculative whiskey securities held by careless banks might cause some inconvenience or loss to the new whiskey millionaries, who have vastly enriched themselves by the increased price of whiskey due to prohibition of manufacture when there were two years supplies on hand, and plenty of new work for distilleries in making munition alcohol and in other lines of war work. An ex-distiller. P. J. Falvey (p. 169) shows that the bugaboo is mostly straw

which the representatives of these whiskey securities set up before the Senate Committee, frightening the very elect with prophecies of financial panic. Before Congress prohibited whiskey-making, distillers grew rich on the regular profit of from 5 to 10 cents per gallon. As a result of prohibition of manufacture the profit rose in a year 400 per cent—to about $2.00 a gallion, on a price of $3.05, making all who had 60,000 barrels or more at the time manufacture was stopped, millionaires. Those who have so enriched themselves are able to take care of all the whiskey securities, and if any bank has been so blind to the oncoming cyclone of prohibition as to invest largely in whiskey securities it deserves to pay a good sum in losses as tuition in the school of experience.

REPLYING TO STATEMENTS OF MR. PERCY H. JOHNSTON, (PP. 200-7) THAT TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF WHISKEY SECURITIES WERE HELD IN BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS ON TWO HUNDRED MILLION GALLONS OF WHISKEY WORTH FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS, IT IS SUFFICIENT TO SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS POWER TO BUY IT FOR MUNITION PURPOSES TO SAVE THE PRECIOUS CORN AND OTHER GRAIN THAT IN JULY, 1918, WAS REPORTED IN THE PRESS AS BEING USED TO MAKE MUNITION ALCOHOL. IT MAY NOT BE THE MOST ECONOMICAL WAY FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO GET THE MUNITION ALCOHOL, NOR THE MOST PROFITABLE WAY FOR SPECULATORS TO SELL WHISKEY BUT THE WHISKEY MAKERS AND THE GOVERNMENT MAY BETTER LOSE SOMETHING THAN HAVE THE NATION LONGER RISK THE LOSING OF THE WAR BY CONTINUING THE LOSSES THROUGH BOOZE OF FOOD, FUEL, MONEY, TRANSPORTATION, MAN-POWER AND MORALE.

Liquor Revenues Paid By Consumers.

Closely related to cost of drink is the question of revenue. It is amazing that any business man ever thought saloon licenses a real asset of City, State or Nation. It is only by a fictitious personification of "the Government," forgetting that U. S. is US, that anybody could be brought to think a traffic that costs US six billions, and pays back, even under war taxation, including all national, State and local liquor taxes and license fees, only a devil's tithe of that, is anything else than a crazy liability. All liquor taxes and license fees were given by National Herald, a liquor paper, on March 6, 1915, as three hundred and twenty five millions. Brewers' Journal, July, 1918, gives seven hundred millions. The liquor traffic cost us eight and one-half times as much as that at peace prices. It is at least ten times as much now, for not only drinks but their consequences are more costly. *Where would we put a man found on the street buying dimes at a dollar a piece?* That is what Uncle Sam is doing and there are Senators even from prohibition States that urge the need of the big liquor revenues in war as a reason for continuing our self robbery.

But here is what was said by a Kentucky Senator, J. C. W. Beckham, on May 12, 1917, as to liquor revenue:

"Many are inclined to think that the liquor industry pays a revenue in this country, in Nation, in State, in county, and in municipality. As a matter of fact, **the liquor industry pays no revenue at all. It is merely, to a small extent, a tax collector, and it is the worst tax collector ever known.** Those engaged in the manufacture and in the sale of alcoholic liquors pay no taxes except what they collect from the consumers."

Compensation Due From, Not to Saloons.

The plea for compensation should also be placed on the background of the vast cost of the liquor traffic not only to the liquor drinkers but to the "innocent bystander" who pays the cost for the crime and poverty and inefficiency caused by drink. The court decisions bearing on compensation are printed in hearing on pp. 179-182, and are in substance that a license is of the same nature as an

annual lease and gives no rights beyond the year, nor even to year's end if public welfare requires its cancellation.*

Civil damage suits establish clearly that there are damages done by drink for which compensation can be recovered, and it would be an interesting contest to sue a saloon that was asking compensation because prohibition was soon to prevent renewal of its license, for the specific damages it had done to surrounding families and factories and real estate values, and to the community generally in the taxes it could be shown to have caused and in the cost of the criminals and paupers it had made. If there is much more talk about compensation, some one may try it out in the courts whether some large compensations due from saloons are not collectable.

VIII. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO STRENGTHEN OUR VOTING LINE, AND SO THE DEMOCRACY FOR WHICH WE SEEK TO MAKE THE WORLD "SAFE."

Next to the Kaiser, the greatest menace to American democracy is the traffic that financed the German-American Alliance, which last has committed hari-kari to avoid execution by Congress. But Congress is proceeding deliberately to kill it again for keeps. Without a word of discussion, on a record vote, the Senate adopted the resolution of Senator King of Utah, annulling the Federal character of the Alliance. The House and President concurred. Shall we stultify ourselves sparing the Association for which the Alliance acted both in pro-Germanism and anti-prohibitionism?

That there are many of German stock who are true Americans we can not easily forget when the roll of our war-work leaders includes such German names as Stettinus, Goethals, Baruch, Rosenwald, Warburg, Schwab and Frankfurter. And from pro-German families young men of undoubted loyalty have gone to the firing line, and should not be held responsible for the sins or mistakes of their fathers.

But the German brewers, who backed the Alliance, though they have tried to camouflage with Liberty loans and Red Cross contributions, are too fully uncovered by the Senate investigation to pass as patriots among intelligent citizens.

Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler presented to the Senate Committee on Agriculture (p. 111) the following analysis of the evidence in hearings in 1918 before Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on the German-American Alliance. (The figures in this case refer to that hearing):

Charter provisions of German-American Alliance granted by Congress, 1907, to study American institutions, to cultivate German language, to protect civil and political rights, to perpetuate the memory of German pioneers, and assist in naturalization, etc. (p. 6).

The German Alliance violated its charter (pp 11-642, and in the manner hereinafter set forth).

It organized Germans in alliance to carry out the plans of the organization and thus hinder the purpose of the government to become a more perfect union (pp. 22, 37, 38, 692).

Opposed assimilation of Germans in America and was pro-German in activities (pp. 24, 53, 54, 108, 110, 117, 118, 635-643).

Attempted to force the compulsory teaching of German in elementary public schools to Germanize America (pp. 24, 44, 49, 100, 187-659).

Alliance encouraged German press to carry out its program (pp. 42-696).

Promoted German ideals and exalted German kultur (pp. 11, 25, 26, 652-658).

Entered politics to elect officials friendly to alliance program (pp. 31, 47, 7, 33, 35, 65, 107, 124, 128, 306).

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* The statement that in Nevada responsible temperance leaders and liquor dealers have agreed on a compromise by which the latter will consent to prohibition and the former to a 75 per cent compensation is denied by the Anti-Saloon League.

Aroused prejudice against England and other friendly nations (pp. 14-65).
Raised money for German Red Cross (pp. 76, 249, 253, 265-271).
Opposed making the speaking of English condition for voting (p. 21).
Opposed loan to allies (pp. 38, 112, 115).
Called our government a failure (p. 309).
The Kaiser decorated the president of the alliance for his services to Germany (p. 84).
Encouraged disloyalty to oath (pp. 37-61).
Opposed war program (pp. 41, 55, 79, 112, 115, 118-139).
Ally of Pan-German Alliance in its plan for German world domination (pp. 11, 47, 95-694).
Opposed prohibition (pp. 25, 27, 36, 223-648).
United States Brewers' Association furnished money to the German Alliance through the National Association of Commerce and Labor (pp. 205, 206-208).
Senator Wolcott asked the following questions (p. 208):
Senator Wolcott. Then this organization, of which you were the head, the National Association of Commerce and Labor, interested primarily in combating prohibition, was to the extent you have indicated to operate through the German-American Alliance, you supplying simply the funds and they conducting the propaganda which you were primarily interested in? That was the situation, was it not?
Mr. Andreae. Yes; I think that is correctly stated.
Page 216, Senator Wolcott asked this further question:
Senator Wolcott. So that the activities that you have been describing, carried on through the German-American Alliance, were emanating in the last analysis from the United States Brewers' Association?
Mr. Andrerae. Oh, yes; the funds—and the allied trades. (See also citations by Senator Sheppard in Cong. Record of July 6, 1917.)
Having read this brief of evidence, Mr. Wheeler said at Senate hearing on war prohibition: "If there is an organization in this country that is backed by the liquor traffic and that organization or alliance carries on a propaganda that hinders this Nation in winning the war, thus crippling the efforts of the Army and Navy, **surely you are supporting the Army and Navy when you prohibit the traffic that supports this unpatriotic organization.**
Ex-President Roosevelt, in an editorial in the Kansas City Star, July 10, 1918, had this to say of the German-American Alliance:
"It received money from the Brewers' Association for the campaign against prohibition.
"At this time when the campaign of German frightfulness is in full blast, when the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns is steadily adding to its list of literally unforgivable offenses against civilization, THERE IS NO ROOM IN THIS COUNTRY FOR ANY ORGANIZATION, GREAT OR SMALL, WHICH EITHER DEFENDS. GERMANY OR IS LUKEWARM IN THE GREAT CRUSADE AGAINST HER IN WHICH AMERICA WILL HENCEFORTH PLAY A LEADING PART." (That means not only the Alliance but U. S. Brewers' Association.)

More Investigations of Brewers' Frightfulness.

It is pertinent to say at this point that Congress having found by the investigations of the German-American Alliance that its pro-German as well as anti-prohibition activities were financed by national organizations of liquor dealers, should proceed to investigate the party "higher up," and his secret political activities in restraint of officials and citizens: for example, the brewers auxiliary whose business it is to boycott business men who in the exercise of their civil rights close saloons opposite their own factories or petition Congress for prohibition, or contribute to anti-saloon campaigns; and the auxiliary whose business it is to kill politically any official who, under his oath to serve the public welfare, votes to close saloons or interferes as an executive with their habitual lawbreaking; and the agencies that are generously financed to secure the co-operation of black preachers in the South, and white labor leaders in the North in order to control for the saloons the labor vote. It is positively known to many that there are proofs of such treasonable plots in the carload of evidence seized by the

Government at the time brewers paid $70,000 fines on charge of using a million dollars to corrupt Pennsylvania elections. *It would not be fair to stop with uncovering the political conspiracies of German-Americans and keep in hiding professedly patriotic Americans who have aided the brewers to corrupt elections, the very heart of the democracy that we are fighting for, which is even worse than trying to Germanize us and keep us out of the war.*

Even when saloon men are not pro-German they are usually partners in the treason of seeking to dominate politics in order to shield their own trade in wrong doing.

Ex-President Taft, in an article in Philadelphia Public Ledger in November, 1917, said:

"The anti-liquor sentiment in Ohio has grown stronger in recent years, not only on the merits of the question, but also because of resentment at the brazen political dictation by the saloonkeepers."

Is War Prohibition a Real Conservation Measure?

Right here, with quotations from two ex-presidents fresh in mind, is a good place to answer the oft-repeated charge that war prohibitionists are not really seeking conservation but only taking advantage of the war to force prohibition. *Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft are but two of thousands who have newly come to prohibition through patriotism.* Some of the most ardent prohibitionists proposed at first to drop prohibition for the war, but were called back to it by seeing through the words of Lloyd George and others that it was a war measure of the first magnitude, needed to conserve food, fuel, money, man-power and "morale."

IX. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO CONSERVE PURITY AND THE FAMILY.

It was never so generally known as now that wine and beer, no less than whiskey, are the ushers to venerial diseases. In the Spanish-American war a score of the foremost American doctors signed a statement that it was during partial intoxication from beer and wine that young men were especially liable to the temptations whose end is the way of death.

Here it is appropriate to introduce the report of an investigation of the moral condition of American troops abroad, made in 1918 by Bishop James Cannon, Jr., and Dr. E. J. Moore, in behalf of the Anti-Saloon League, with the approval of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy. They found most of our soldiers clean, sober and efficient, and commanding officers deeply concerned for the morals of the men, and seeking to divert their attention when off duty with social, recreational and educational features. But in spite of the efforts of the officers, and the wonderful aid rendered by Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations, *they report there is much wine and beer drinking—more than in cantonments "over here." The report states that there has been "drinking to excess in London and Paris and the port cities especially, which sometimes has been so great as to cause very unfavorable comment. Such drinking has been accompanied, as is usually the case, with sexual immorality, as a result of which in some sections "venereal disease was reaching a percentage larger than could be ignored."* * *It appears that in proportion to numbers there has been a greater amount of drinking to excess, and of immorality among the officers than among the men.* This appears to be due to the fact that in the creation of such a large body of officers, it has happened, as might have been expected, that many have been commissioned who have been lacking in discretion and self-control. When

* See footnotes p. 23 of this book.

freed from the restraint of the American prohibitory law against intoxicants and prostitution, and given the freedom which officers have in France, such men have not restrained themselves, but have indulged their appetites to the detriment of discipline among the men under them, to the dishonor of the American uniform, which, to the praise of the higher officers be it said, has resulted in the discharge of some of them from the Navy and Army."

"GENERAL ORDER NO. 77, HAS BEEN HELPFUL, BUT HAS NOT CONTROLLED THE EVILS. THE EXEMPTION OF LIGHT WINES AND BEER IS A DISTINCT LOWERING OF THE STANDARD SET FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY BY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION,§ AND WHATEVER GOOD HAS RESULTED FROM THE REST OF THE ORDER, THE EXEMPTION OF LIGHT WINES AND BEER HAS NOT ONLY PRODUCED NO RESULTS TO COMPENSATE FOR THE PUBLIC OFFICIAL LOWERING OF THE AMERICAN PROHIBITORY STANDARD, BUT ON THE CONTRARY THE DRINKING OF WINE AND BEER HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN INCREASED BY THE ORDER, AND MEN ARE FORMING WINE-DRINKING HABITS WHICH WILL PLAGUE THEM FOR LIFE. FURTHERMORE, UNDER THE COVER OF THE PERMIT TO DRINK WINE, THE STRONGER LIQUORS ARE FREQUENTLY PURCHASED WITHOUT DETECTION OR PUNISHMENT."

The most patent moral of the report of Messrs. Cannon and Moore is that General Pershing's order issued in December, 1917, permitting our soldiers to "buy or receive as a gift wine and beer" should be repealed. It should encourage us to demand it that General Biddle's similar order, issued in February, 1918, allowing the soldier in this country to drink anything when at home, on leave, or when "a bona fide guest" anywhere was revoked in July, 1918. It has taken many wrecks of young lives to show the folly of such a personal license to drink, which was plainly contrary to the intent of Congress, as is also the Pershing order.

Not alone the War Department has made mistakes in this matter but parents, preachers and reformers also have made a great mistake in not protesting irresistably against both of these executive modifications of the law of Congress, lest some shallow fellow should accuse them of "not standing by the President" or "distrusting our soldiers." *We should have stood by Congress and the soldier.*

X. WAR PROHIBITION IS NEEDED TO PREVENT A CHECKMATING OF THE WAR MISSION OF THE CHURCHES, WHICH IS TO MAINTAIN "MORALE," THAT NAPOLEON SAID WAS THREE TIMES AS IMPORTANT AS MUNITIONS.

And what is "morale"? It is *esprit du corps,* the spirit of an army and a nation—it is hope and courage, based on faith in a God of righteousness. Every saloon is a hindrance to the maintenance of that great essential in dark hours of war. The saloon dries up the top of the brain, the idealism of service and sacrifice, and leaves only the gross selfishness of the beast and savage that waits for its opportunity to despoil and destroy. That is what beer drinking of all classes at all ages of life has done for Germany, and it has done the same for people of like habits here. What has made Germany what it is we shall find it easier now than formerly to persuade patriotic to cut out of our national life.

Rev. Clarence True Wilson, D. D., General Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, in a written statement submitted, without reading, for publication in hearings (p. 172), spoke of the fundamental relations of war prohibition to "morale" and religion as follows:

War prohibition as the next step in the winning of the war does not depend on any secular argument whatever. It arises personally from a century of teachings, from the moral convictions of a hundred million people, from the growing revulsion

§ The Brewers' Journal of August, 1917, p. 403, said: "Pershing acts for the best of his men and his country, 'law' or no 'law.'"

toward the traffic, growing out of the fact that alcohol is not a food but a poison; that its manufacture is not a business but a crime; that it belongs in the class with the gambling hell and the brothel which civilization has outgrown and must destroy; and the plea for national prohibition at this time, while we are at war with Germany, and when Germany has gone dry, taking over every one of her big breweries to make ammunition or food or clothing of some commodity for the army or for the winning of the war, is not a mere opportunist's plan to add a little efficiency to our Army, but is a plea on behalf of the morals of the Nation and the morale of the Army, that is absolutely essential to the winning of the war and to deserving to win the war.

The essential question is not, if we should stop the breweries now making beer, would they not make soft drinks instead? The question is, If it is a part of God's purpose in the great world war to wipe the nations of the earth clean from their several drug poisons, which have debauched mankind too long and been tolerated simply for revenue; if what the German Emperor himself said, addressing his officers in army and navy five years ago, that "The next war will be settled by nerve; that nerves are continually undermined by alcohol; and that therefore the nation that uses the least alcohol will be the conquering nation in the next war, and the nation that uses the most alcohol will be the one that goes down first"; if the fact that Belgium was the largest drinker of intoxicating liquor in the whole world, and that that much of that prophecy has come true, what will become of the land that, in view of all the light and all the knowledge and the moral convictions of the people, and sensitiveness of the national conscience on the subject, persist through its rulers in tolerating the most gigantic, iniquitous, impudent, pro-German trade that could be tolerated in he world, and with a great outcry against the wasting of people's substance and the ruin of their souls during war times, our President should determine, or our Congress should so neglect the subject, that we should struggle on through this battle without giving our boys the utmost help we can by stopping this waste at home and this devastation abroad?

What if, as in the case with Lincoln, God would withhold victory from our troops as He did those of the Federal troops while we had any complicity with slavery until Lincoln promised the Almighty, if He would drive the Confederate Army out of Pennsylvania, he would free his slaves, and after that was done a series of victories led up to the culmination that kept Old Glory's stainless stars flying in the heavens?

And what if the divine purpose be to purify the world by this war our government should be the last to prohibit this national evil and should hold onto the iniquitious liquor traffic until we are taught by the loss of millions of lives that it does not pay to trifle with the God of the universe, or with the moralities that He is seeking to teach, or with the religious principles that have blessed society, and which are peremptory in their demands?

I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, that He has spoken in His word, and speaks by His providence, by the movements of these States as well as among the nations of the earth, against the liquor traffic; and when I see our ruling powers standing today as the defender of that colossal assault on humanity known as the organized brewers, pro-German in their sentiment and organization and conducting a destructive trade, which becomes a practical ally of the Kaiser in his assault on Christian civilization. This partnership was clearly brought out in the investigation of the German-American Alliance.

I, perhaps, travel this continent as many times across and as many miles per year as any man in it. I talk to and with as many people and have as good opportunity to feel the popular and moral pulse. There are two conflicting emotions, both very tense today in America. One is the patriotic desire to win and to contribute toward winning this war. The other is **a dreadful apprehension that we will not do our utmost in time to win or deserve to win a quick victory and so lose the lives of millions of our boys.** This second apprehension has grown through the moral convictions of the people.

There are millions of Americans who do not believe that this administration can win this war or deserve to win it with the beer industry hanging like a millstone about its neck, turning our "daily bread" into human poison, tying up labor into useless activity, slowing our workmen into heavy beer brutes, wasting two billions annually, organizing temptations for our soldiers and spoiling the morale of our people in war times. President Wilson can stop this diversion of resources into a pro-German and disloyal trade, or Congress can do it as a war measure absolutely demanded by our people. If either does they will have the thanks of the united Church

of Christ, the thanks of the fathers and mothers who are giving their boys, the thanks of American business men who, amid sacrifice of taxes, gifts, and of helpers, are conducting "business as usual" amid fearful handicaps. But if this war drags its weary length through another year and the American people get the conviction that our lack of food and munitions, transports, preparations, and victories are in any way connected with the waste and ruin of the American tolerated beer trade, the reprobation of this short-sighted pro-beer policy bringing upon our Nation the moral culpability of standing on the wrong side on the greatest moral issue of the twentieth century will develop ino the darkest cloud that ever broke over the head of human rulers for failing to apprehend the signs of the times, the providence of God and the divine purpose to clean up our world, especially to wipe from it the curse of the drug poisons of the nations.

"YE SHALL BE ASHAMED OF YOUR REVENUES BECAUSE OF THE FIERCE ANGER OF THE LORD." (Jer., 12:13.) DO WE THINK GOD IS GOING TO GIVE VICTORY IN THE WORLD WAR AND LEAVE THE MORAL CONDITIONS NO BETTER THAN BEFORE THE WAR CAME?

War Prohibition Amendment to H. R. 11945 as Reported by Senate Committee on Agriculture in August, 1918.*

After Dec. 31, 1918, until the conclusion of the present war for the purpose of conserving the man power of the nation and to increase efficiency in the production of arms, war munitions, ships, food and clothing for the Army and Navy, it shall be unlawful to sell for beverage purposes any distilled spirits, and during said time no distilled spirits held in bond shall be removed therefrom for beverage purposes, except for export. After Nov. 1, 1918, until the conclusion of the present war, no grain, cereal, fruit, or other food product shall be used in the manufacture or production of beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor for beverage purposes. After Dec. 1, 1918, until the conclusion of the present war *and demobilization,* no beer, wine or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor shall be sold for beverage purposes, except for export. The Commisisoner of Internal Revenue is hereby authorized and directed to prescribe rules and regulations subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, in regard to the removal of distilled spirits held in bond after December thirty-first, nineteen hundred and eighteen, for other than beverage purposes, also in regard to the sale and distribution of wine for sacramental, medicinal, or other nonbeverage uses. After the approval of this Act, no distilled, malt, vinous, or other intoxicating liquors shall be imported (into the United States).

Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

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*The amendment as drawn for presentation to the Committee by the International Reform Bureau and Senator Geo. W. Norris included the period of demobilization and prohibited liquor exports. These two features were cut out by the Committee. After the President's interposition, asking delay of war prohibition until 1920, Senator Sheppard offered a revised amendment which included demobilization, but postponed the date when the manufacture of intoxicating beverages should end from Nov. 1, 1918, to May 1, 1919, and date when all liquor selling for beverage purposes should end from January 1, 1919, to July 1, 1919. The President was given discretionary power to put unlimited prohibition zones about coal mines, munition plants and other industrial war agencies, thus honoring workers by putting about them the same safeguards of their efficiency as was previously authorized for soldiers. (An effort was at once made by the International Reform Bureau, with result pending as book went to press, to make prohibition for five miles about coal mines mandatory for October and November, 1918, to avert fuel crisis.) The Sheppard amendment was adopted by the Senate August 29, 1918, and by the House September 23, but the Act of which it is a part was in Conference when the first edition of this book went to press, September 26, 1918.

Why International Prohibition?

There was never a time so favorable for international prohibition as now, when thirty nations—soon to be forty—are acting together as Allies to conquer War, in behalf of Law. Surely at such a time we cannot forget the words of Gladstone, that drink has done more harm to the world than war, pestilence and famine. For four thousand years the world's prophets have made such declarations, some in every continent, and only the elect have heard and heeded, but war's "curtain of fire" turned such a lurid light on Drink as the foe in the rear in every land, that millions who had seen no harm in drinking that stops short of drunkenness, learned in war news and war industries what the great scientists of Europe long since proved to the few that had ears to hear and eyes to see, that even such daily tippling as is commonly called "moderate" seriously lowers efficiency in both soldiers and workmen, and at the same time wastes national resources of food and fuel and transportation and money and "morale."

Never before in any war have the leaders on both sides branded Drink as an enemy to be interned or put under surveillance and restriction, as every belligerant nation did at the very outset of this war.

War Prohibitions in Central Powers.

Germany's great general, Von Moltke, had said before the war, "Germany has more to fear from beer than from all the armies of France." And the Kaiser had said to his naval cadets, in 1911: "The nation that drinks the least alcohol will win the next war, for modern war calls for steady nerves and a cool head, and alcohol kills nerve." It was therefore no surprise when he issued an order at the first mobilization of his troops in 1914, that in parting gifts to German soldiers from their friends there should be no intoxicants. And about the same time he prohibited the sale of distilled liquors altogether, whether for soldier or civilian, and reduced the alcoholic content of beer. Later, in January, 1918, when the choice was beer or bread, he cut off barley for brewing altogether, according to the Brewers' Journal of the following month. That the plunder of Belgian and French wine cellars by German soldiers in their first rush toward Paris fatally delayed their march and weakened their "morale" is plainly intimated by German and French writers, and by Mr. Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium—none of these writers prohibitionists. The story of that staggering march to Paris, as written in the diary of a German officer, recalls Adjutant General Corbin's remark, which he confirmed in a conversation with me during the war with Spain, "A beer canteen is a good thing for the camp of your enemy."

Austria-Hungary was reported in the Brewers' Journal in 1918 as having almost ceased the use of grain for liquors, because it was all needed for bread in what was then called by the new name of "Austria-Hungry."

Bulgaria was in less need of drink restriction, because, according to Guy Hayler, in "Prohibition Advance in All Lands" (p. 140), Bulgaria before the war drank only one-eighth as much spirits per capita as Germany. (Perhaps that was one reason why one in each thousand people in Bulgaria lived

to be a hundred years or more, and only one in seven hundred-thousand lived so long in Germany.)

The fourth nation of the Central Powers, Turkey, is under Mohammedan prohibition, and although that good quality is accompanied by "unspeakable" faults, it has made Turkish soldiers, when well led, formidable fighters.

So much for the Central Powers. In 1918 that side was "drinking less alcohol" than the Allies, and it was and will be a fact to be reckoned with, for the Kaiser's opinion on war is certainly that of an expert.

All the Allies to Some Extent Branded Drink as a Foe.

All the Allies have also recognized intoxicating drinks as a handicap from the very inception of the war.

Russia's prohibition is not much talked about since its first fruits in revolution passed into the eclipse of social chaos, but we should know its great significance and make it known.

Mr. Samuel Gompers in his frequent speeches in defense of beer, for which he admits he has no mandate from the American Federation of Labor—whose leaders in dry States are enthusiastic advocates of prohibition—makes ominous references to Russia as showing the horrible results of prohibition. But a close scrutiny of this sophistry shows it to be a boomerang. He charges the chaotic conditions in Russia are due to prohibition, meaning that it is a confirmation of his theory that if drink is taken from workingmen they will revolt. A revolt might be unfortunate in a democracy, but none but monarchists regard it unfortunate that sobered Russia revolted against autocracy. And sober Russia did it very calmly, with no resemblance to the carnival of blood that was seen in like case in France. Mr. Gompers, challenged by Senator Kenyon, could give no authority for attributing any of the unwise acts of the revolutionists to prohibition. And it is very significant that of the various groups seeking to control the revolution in Russia, none have proposed to repeal prohibition, and only a slight relaxation of the law for the wine growing districts has been yielded. The Germans, taking good note that Russia drunken endured autocracy, seem to be putting what liquors they can command in the way of the peasants. And it is not strange that in days of riot, stores of liquors are sometimes broken open, which may explain some of the orgies of rape and robbery that occurred when the soldiers hurried back from the defense of their country to get their share of the confiscated goods of the rich.

Meantime Russia will not forget the wonderful benefits that came from the first national prohibition law among white races. (Let it not be forgotten that the Czar did three of the noblest acts that a nation's ruler ever did—originated the Hague Court and gave his people a parliament and prohibition.)

The Czar, knowing well that Russian vodka had been the ally of Japan in Russia's ignominous defeat by a much smaller nation, followed his declaration of war against Germany with a prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors during mobilization. The army was marshalled so much more swiftly and quietly, and the effects on industry were so great, increasing efficiency of miners and workmen twenty to forty per cent (see Ernest Gordon's "Russia"), and the increase of savings also was so great—as much put in savings banks in one month in war time as in the whole period of the previous year—that the Duma made the temporary military prohibition a

permanent law. Benefits so multiplied in cleaner and more orderly villages, a sober soldiery and general improvement that the Chancellor of the Exchequer uttered those imperishable words: "RUSSIA WITHOUT VODKA AND WITH WAR IS BETTER OFF THAN RUSSIA WITHOUT WAR AND WITH VODKA."

And a wife and mother speaking for the homes, though war widows and orphans were on every side, said, "Russia is like heaven without vodka."

Neither Russia nor the world can forget the wonderful benefits of that national prohibition, which belongs with the shorter experiment in national prohibition in Sweden during the general strike of 1909, that I shall describe later. Both Russia and Sweden gave unanswerable proofs of the manifold benefits of prohibition on a national scale—which would be greater still if the Allies should unitedly adopt prohibition for increased efficiency in war and peace.

Others of the Allied Governments that counted themselves superior to Russia, hesitated and paltered and surrendered to the liquor power in politics, excepting only Rumania, which went dry the very day it decided to fight, as every nation should, in accordance with the athletic rules that date back to the Olympic games of Greece. That country should need no argument to show that "Greek wine" will not help Greek fighting.

Men of light and leading in France, whom we should reenforce, urged war prohibition at the start. Generals in 1914 forbade civilians to sell wine to soldiers, but the Wine and Brandy Interest, that rules French politics ominously, carried the case to the courts, as the liquor interest has so often done in the United States, and it was decided that military officers had no power to forbid civilians to debauch and disable their soldiers. It was not until 1917 that even so small a protection of soldiers was allowed as the generals had attempted as a matter of war efficiency three years before. About the only results that came from declarations of President Poincare and General Joffre and Dr. Debove, the health chief of France, in favor of war prohibition, was a ban put on absinthe. France did not even respect the act of Congress through which the American people forbade the sale of liquors by American civilians to American soldiers, but presented a great supply of wine to our soldiers in France on Bastile Day in July, 1917. It was probably because of an unwise fear of seeming discourtesy to an esteemed ally that the gift was accepted by General Pershing. And, probably for the same reason, in December, 1917, he issued General Order 77, which permitted American soldiers to "buy or receive as a gift. wine and beer." And, for the same inadequate reason, the American people have mostly only whispered their bitter and increasing disappointment that a nation famous for courtesy and courage has so discourteously disregarded the officially expressed sentiment of a nation that was sacrificing so much in its defense.

The wrecks of many American soldiers, through "wine and women"—drink and diseases to which it is now better known than ever that drink leads—was proved to the American people in the unchallenged report of Bishop James Cannon, Jr., and Dr. E. J. Moore, who investigated moral conditions in Britain and France in 1918 for the Anti-Saloon League, at the request also of the Secretaries of the War and Navy (pp. 46-7). Unless French leaders are hopelessly blinded by the Wine and Brandy Interest, they will not treat as negligibly the smothered indignation of the most influential elements of the American people at this strange return for our reenforce-

ment. Let them take note that although Americans say little during the war, the volcano will burst at the war's end when debauched soldiers come back, and when France will need for the building of its devastated country, no less than now, American good will and loans. It will need them far more than it will need the good will of its Brandy and Wine Interests, whose tolerated waste of resources will then be regarded as a reason why Americans should not continue to make sacrifices for those unwilling to sacrifice even what is an injury to them and to all who share their fate.

And Britain should note that Dr. Moore, in a postscript to that most influential report, says:

"I THANK GOD WITH ALL MY HEART THAT THIS WAR IS BEING FOUGHT ON FRENCH SOIL, AND NOT ON BRITISH SOIL, AND THAT OUR MEN ARE NOT SUBJECT TO THE MORAL CONDITIONS AND ENVIRONMENT OF BRITAIN TODAY."

That intimation that in the "wine and women" business Britain is now worse than France, we may hope will pierce to the quick of a Government that has been unmoved by the appeals for war prohibition from the noble army of its foremost men and women in the "Strength of Britain Movement," and the prophet-like books of Arthur Mee, "Defeat or Victory," "The Fiddlers," and "The Parasite," all of them much read and much approved in the United States—all of which, in spite of the censor's ban, have also become known in Canada, and with the added facts of Canadian soldiers debauched, have shaken perilously the loyalty of the Dominion, as some of its brave leaders from the firing line have declared.

We are glad to read, in the British Parliamentary reports, *that one of the slight reductions in the official indulgences granted to Drink in 1918 was made partly "out of deference to American opinion."* And there is a glint of hope also in the letter of Lloyd George to Mr. Daniel A. Poling (p. 24), that he is watching American action on war prohibition. If he must actually choose between beer and bread he assures us he will choose bread.

Does he suppose that because Americans are not making much public complaint in war time, that the influential classes in the United States who have carried a three-fourths national prohibition already, and are soon to make it complete, *have neither knowledge of, nor objection to the fact that while Americans have been urged to sacrifice in grain and money for our Allies, those Allies, both in France and Britain, have been using our precious grain to make beer,* and in Britain, perhaps elsewhere, whiskey also. Our Government has even become partner in foreign brewing by buying and shipping malt (see American Issue, N. Y. Edition, July 27, 1918).

The liquor men do not allow Americans to forget these facts, for they are constantly arguing against domestic prohibition, *that the grain we save supplies other nations with materials for liquor making.*

Soon after we entered the war the chairman of the U. S. Senate Committee on Agriculture agreed to offer an amendment to the Cummins Amendment (which prohibited use of grain to make beer or whiskey), forbidding also the export of grain for the same use, and it was clearly seen and said by Senators that such action would require foreign governments desiring our grain for their people to join us in prohibiting manufacture as it would be an intolerable evasion simply to use their own grain for beer and imported grain for their bread. Such legislation has been influentially asked of Congress, and American patience may at any time refuse to tolerate longer a situation

that requires sacrifice on one side of the sea to continue indulgence by drinkers and cowardice of officials on the other.

Will Americans Forever Make Foreign Loans to Cover Liquor Waste?

In August, 1918, the American people were told in a statement of war expenses that we are *"loaning ten million dollars a day to our Allies," which is at the rate of about four billions of dollars per year.* While the war is on we may quietly pocket the injustice that *our Allies are wasting more than we loan them in the cost and consequences of drink.* BUT IS THERE ANY BRITISH OR FRENCH STATESMAN SO DULL THAT HE SUPPOSES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO LOAD OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN WITH WAR DEBTS TO MAKE FOREIGN LOANS WHEN THE WAR ENDS—ALTHOUGH LOANS WILL BE NEEDED FOR RECONSTRUCTION HARDLY LESS THAN FOR WAR—IF BRITISH AND FRENCH STATESMEN REFUSE TO FOLLOW US IN THE MANIFEST DUTY OF CUTTING OFF DRINK, NOT ONLY AS A WASTE IN WAR TIME, BUT ALSO AS A PROMOTER, WHEN THE WAR ENDS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN TYPE, THAT CARRIES REPUDIATION OF DEBTS IN ITS TRAIN?

Drunken Workmen More To Be Feared Than Sober Ones.

It is commonly said that the British Government does not conserve the resources wasted in Drink because it fears the workmen will revolt. In reply to that reflection upon them by British workmen, a numerous plebiscite voted four to one for war prohibition in 1917. That is one answer, and a sufficient one, to the alleged fear of labor revolt in defense of beer, but another as conclusive is that BRITAIN WILL NEED A SOBER PEOPLE WHEN IT UNDERTAKES INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR. A DRUNKEN LABOR POPULATION AT THAT HOUR MIGHT BRING THE FIGHTING NEARER THAN FRANCE.

In September, 1918, the United States enacted war prohibition.

Let every intelligent patriot of Britain and France and Italy and Belgium, and of Allied countries press his own Government to make this prohibition international. And let the neutral countries also join to make it unanimous.

A League to Enforce Peace, to make future wars impossible, should be preceded by International Prohibition to eliminate in Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and elsewhere, before the war's end upsets industry, the drink shops that may at that critical hour of excitement drive throngs of men who will be suddenly thrown out of work, or confronted with the competition of returning soldiers, into a bloody revolution. Bar rooms during industrial reconstruction would be as perilous as a torchlight procession in a powder mill. INTERNATIONAL PROHIBITION WOULD BE A LEAGUE TO ASSURE INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

Come Into Peace Congress With Clean Hands.

British statesmen especially should consider in advance the situation the British Empire will face when we bring Germany and Austria to judgment for their treatment of weaker peoples.

Germany will no doubt devote herself publicly and privately to an effort to show the world every governmental wrong that can be charged to Britain, as an offset to the wrongs charged to Germany. Every international stain

which then remains on British hands will weaken the Allies' case. Britain will claim that whatever wrongs have been done in the past, she is now helping rather than exploiting the weaker races. She will proudly show that British labor has written an after-the-war charter of world-wide liberty which even excels the new liberty map of the world made by President Wilson. Britain may also point to the final righting of the great opium wrong done to China.

But what will Britain say of its Government-owned and Government-promoted liquor traffic in India, where the one great virtue of Hinduism, Buddhism and Mohammedism, their prohibition of Drink, has been overruled in spite of the earnest protest of natives and missionaries? What will Britain say in defence of its debauching of the natives for liquor revenue, which has been promoted by British officials in India as if it were some worthy cause? What will Britain say of the accursed opium traffic under its own flag today in India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements and elsewhere? What will Britain say of shipments of tons of morphia from Edinburgh and London to Japan for smuggling into China?

Britain will also have some hard work to do in explaining her crowding of drink upon the tribes of Africa for revenue, in the face of earnest protests of the native chiefs. What will Britain say that will satisfy her dry colonies and the United States in answer to the arraignment of her Government by Canadian leaders for many servile surrenders to the Beer and Whisky Interest at the moral cost of her own soldiers and those of her Allies?

Mr. B. A. Kearney, of Boston, Massachusetts, Secretary-Agent of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and the Bartenders' International League of America, testifying before the Senate Agricultural Committee, said:

"I live within a stone's throw of the Cunard dock in East Boston where I see boats coming in daily unloading ale containing seven and eight per cent. alcohol. *We are shipping grain to England* and it is returning to us in ale, which can be purchased in Boston in any of the hotels, an indication that England herself continues to brew this beer and *brew it from the grain that we send there!*"

This statement was not challenged, nor another of like import in same hearing, p. 99, by Congressman Clarence F. Lea, of California, who, testifying in behalf of the liquor interests, particularly the wine interests, said:

"*Our barley is being sent to France and England for the manufacture of beer there,* and to a certain extent there is an inconsistency in our sending barley there for that purpose."

Let Britain put herself in our place and think how her people would feel if we used sacrificial supplies from her people for some use they generally disapproved.

And let Britain think well whether she will give the liquor traffic in her own borders a prolonged lease of life by State purchase, at the cost of lowered esteem in the United States and in her own dry colonies, at a time when the era of world-wide prohibition is approaching, and when the day of judgment for nations in a world parliament is yet more imminent.

When a bonding company has given bond for a man, it is the bonding company's business whether he wastes his resources recklessly. America having loaned Great Britain billions of dollars, has a right to protest against the waste of man-power and food and fuel and transportation and national "morale" which the long-continued sale of liquors to men and women in Great Britain would involve, including the disadvantage Britain would

suffer a creditor in manufactures and trade as against prohibition countries, and the increased probability of social revolution and repudiation of national debts if the working classes should be increasingly besotted.

Let Belgium Get Ready For New Era.

Americans have unbounded admiration for Belgium's heroic self-sacrifice in halting the Hun, when a condoning of the violation of international law might have saved her from spoilation and even enriched her with a German reward. And because of that admiration we have given millions to feed her people. But her statesmen should be telling her people that when peace comes and Belgium needs even more money to rebuild her waste places, Americans can hardly forget that Belgium has been the most beer-soaked nation in Europe. No doubt a part of the gifts of American abstainers have gone, directly or indirectly, to furnish beer to Belgians when it was all needed for bread. We have heard of no reduction of the liquor traffic there save what war has made; no movement for abstinence for which this period of sacrifice afforded a great opportunity. Let statesmen join with reformers in showing rich and poor alike at this time when Belgium must have the world's co-operation, that she should cast aside this wasteful drink traffic and adopt the prohibition that Belgium's socialists have long urged as a part of their plan of social uplift for the working classes.

Let Brave Italy Strike Down the Foe in the Rear.

Americans have admired Italy's magnificent fight and have sent unquestioning aid in war time, but let her statesmen and reformers follow our lead in prohibition not only for their own good but also to hold our esteem and cooperation. Her leaders have condemned her wines, as well as stronger drinks, and if her statesmen are holding back for fear Italian workmen would "make trouble," let them search American prohibition history to find any place where the hosts of Italian workmen or immigrants from any other foreign land have rebelled because the drink shops were closed. There was no trouble in Seattle or Spokane or Denver or Detroit, though Austrians and Hungarians and Poles as well as Italians were numerous in their great shops. Foreigners come here regular drinkers, soon become occasional drinkers through American influence, and are so prepared for "bone dry" prohibition, which they find brings only benefit, with new joys better than those of the fuddling bowl.

The financial burden of the great war is not yet fully realized, for the people, though paying high prices and high taxes, are also getting high wages, most of which are from borrowed money that must be paid in taxes by this and future generations when wages have fallen, and war's great appeal to "service and sacrifice" are past.

STATESMEN IN EVERY LAND OUGHT TO SEE THAT THE PERIOD WHEN SACRIFICE IS THE DAILY HABIT AND THE VERY SPIRIT OF THE NATION IS THE TIME TO DRAFT THE SELLERS AND DRINKERS OF INTOXICANTS INTO A WAY OF LIVING THAT IS MORE CONSISTENT WITH THE GENERAL WELFARE.

When the United States Congress was considering war prohibition there was opposition, not only from the American liquor traffic and all the banks and other concerns that become inevitably bound in the bundle of life with any legalized wrong, but also from foreign liquor interests, especially the French Wine and Brandy Interest, whose hidden hand achieved favors

in the first war prohibition legislation passed by Congress, as it long previously held back the hand of the Czar from signing a prohibition law for Finland. The world should demand that France rid herself and the world of that Brandy and Wine Trust, that assumes to be a world Kaiser for suppressing the "self determination of people" on the liquor issue.

International Arguments For Prohibition.

If there were time I would like to make a world tour in thought to draw from every nation its best argument for total abstinence and prohibition. Britain's best would be its temperance insurance system, originated by Robert Warner in 1844, which has proved incontrovertably that even such very moderate drinking as does not bar one from life insurance shortens life from 26 to 27 per cent. The best contribution of France is the official poster on alcoholism in which the Republic says officially under the great mottoes, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," that the habitual use of wine, beer or spirits to an extent that does not produce drunkenness does produce alcoholism, that is, the chronic poisoning of the white cells in the blood, "the little white bodyguard," that makes them incapable of defending the body against the invading horde of microbes that bring most of the diseases.

Japan contributes the story of an invincible army freer from "wine and women" than any army since Cromwell's, showing what way efficiency and victory lie in war and peace alike. China, learning from Japan's triumph over Russia, which the Chinese saw could not have been accomplished if Japan had not prohibited opium, undertook and carried through in the face of great obstacles, opium prohibition, with the slogan that united all China as that individualistic and provincial people were never united before:

"That China May Be Strong."

Where can statesmen find a better slogan for the coming peace contest of nations for their relative share in the world's markets in the new era when the victory will be decided by efficiency and not by force. Translated for universal adoption this slogan would read:

That our country may be strong,
We will put down every wrong.

Asia's great contribution to the argument is the prohibitions of the great religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedism, Judaism and Christianity, whose adherents include a majority of the civilized people of the world. The Bible's prohibitions are stronger and broader than those of any other religion: "Abstain from every form of evil." "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink."

I should like to add from every nation, as quotations from the oldest testament of natural law, the discoveries of its greatest scientists as to the harmfulness to body and brain. to parenthood and industry, of even the moderate use of the mildest intoxicants.

I noted in my tours of Europe before the war, and especially in the meetings of the International Congress on Alcoholism and other European temperance conventions, that the medical leaders and university professors and public officials abroad were more publicly and actively identified with campaigns against alcoholism than the same groups in the United States. And more help for prohibition has come from labor leaders in Europe than from labor leaders in the United States. European socialists know and say that

drunken and half drunken men are too content with low conditions to make a good fight for social betterment.

In London, in 1909, at the International Congress on Alcoholism, where hundreds of Europe's scholarly men were gathered, there was no enthusiasm for schemes of regulation and restriction by license or government ownership or disinterested management. Those tempearnce experts knew well from sincere efforts to use such methods, their ineffectiveness. But when black and white maps were displayed showing the rising, spreading tide of prohibition in the United States, the whole audience burst into applause whose intensity proclaimed at once the failure of the petty restrictions Europe had vainly tried, and the great hope that the United States would give prohibition to the whole world.

Why is it that Europe with more lodges meeting regularly to study the liquor problem, and especially more Bands of Hope regularly training its children, and far more influential support from its universities for abstinence, has had so little prohibition?

This is, perhaps, a part of the answer: *Nothing gets prohibition arguments before the people anywhere so effectively as a campaign to elect a law or to elect men pledged to pass one.* American population includes all Europe in miniature, and a campaign of speeches in public halls and on the street, as well as in the churches, persuades a majority of the people—sometimes after many years of such educative campaigns—that the law would be a benefit, and the minority is so far persuaded that they are at least ready to submit to the judgment of the majority. WHAT EUROPE NEEDS IS REFERENDUMS EVERYWHERE ON PROHIBITION FOR LOCAL OR LARGER AREAS THAT THE FACTS ITS LEADERS HAVE PROVED AGAINST ALCOHOL MAY BECOME KNOWN AND FELT BY PUBLIC DISCUSSION, WITH A CONTEST TO BE WON TO ROUSE A FIGHTING INTEREST.

Sweden's National Prohibition In General Strike.

A conclusive argument for national prohibition in every belligerent country during demobilization and industrial reconstruction, is found in the wonderful effects of temporary national prohibition in Sweden during the general strike in 1909. About a quarter of a million workmen, in a nation whose population was about that of New York City, five millions, were to go on strike. The leaders of the workmen joined with civil officials in asking for the closing of bar rooms all over the land that the strike might not be defeated by violence that would give occasion for the government to intervene; also that workmen might neither waste the money nor befuddle the brains needed in a great battle with capital. Here are the statistics, given Dr. R. Hercod, of the International Temperance Bureau, Lausanne, showing that August, 1909, with a strike on, but without saloons, was far more orderly than the previous August when bar rooms were open, with no excitement.

Arrests For Drunkenness.

Place.	*Saloons open August 08.*	*Saloons closed August 09.*
Gothenburg	847	113
Stockholm	1,549	169
Nyloping	26	1
Orebro	84	0

In Gothenburg from Sept. to Sept., 1908, with the open liquor shop, there were 188 arrests. From Sept. 1st to 7th, 1909, with no public sale of liquor, there were only three arrests. On Sept. 8, bar rooms were opened again, and from Sept. 8 to 19, inclusive, there were 259 arrests.

In August, a meeting of 20,000 strikers near Stockholm, called by the central strike committee, passed the following resolutions:

"The war of the giants that the Swedish workmen are now carrying on, is an historical event that will exercise a profound influence upon the development of our country.

"The eyes of all the world are directed upon the workers of Sweden whose coolness and calm have excited the wonder and admiration of every country. The immediate and important results of the provisional prohibition of alcohol, though incomplete, have astonished the world. There are no arrests for drunkenness; the accidents and crimes that are the consequences of drinking have disappeared. The coffers of the saloon-keepers, for the most part filled by the wages of the poor workmen, are empty. The places for the sale of whiskey and beer are shut, notwithstanding that the working class has gathered its battalions to defend its hearths and its country, and perpare for the generations to come an era of justice and political equality.

"Shall such a satisfactory state of things disappear? Shall the workmen of Sweden allow, without protest, alcoholic capital to stretch out its arms over the thousands of workers? Will they allow each year thousands of men and women to be sacrificed on the altar of alcoholic capital? Will they permit the liquor money power to rob the working class of a hundred million crowns every year? Will they suffer the prisons and hospitals to be filled for the most part with victims of alcohol and poverty, and political and social impotence?

"Is it not proper that in these days of the strike that the people of Sweden should assemble in battle and declare that they will not tolerate the traffic whose principal object is to ruin the working class? Perhaps our declaration may not be followed by any immediate effect, but the resolute attitude of the entire working class on this question will be a re-echoing protest whose influence will be limited only by its educating effect.

"The people of Finland, with the exception of the ruling class, and of Iceland, and of ten American States (28 in 1918), have branded the traffic in alcohol as a trade detrimental to society.

"It is a glorious task for the workmen of Sweden to place themselves at the head of this movement for freedom. They are writing at this historic hour, one of the most glorious pages in their history and in that of the Swedish people and the generation which shall follow us shall bless their memory.

"Comrades, cease from useless discussion about moderation and abstinence. Let us set ourselves to our great task of intellectual and economic freedom. It is the effectual, permanent prohibition of alcohol that will attain this. Forward, then, in all the communes of Sweden."

From the date of that Swedish demonstration of the value of national prohibition, the organized workmen of that country have been the prohibition leaders of Europe. They carried prohibition in their lower house of Parliament, but the aristocratic upper house (down to 1918) has been willing to yield nothing but "restrictions," such as Americans have found to be a mockery.

LET SWEDISH PROHIBITIONISTS STRIKE ONE MORE WHILE THE WAR SETS THE EVILS OF DRINK IN THE WORST LIGHT.

Keeping in mind the new industrial era that peace will bring to the whole world, we should ponder deeply as another Swedish contribution to the arguments for national and international prohibition the following profound utterance of the Crown Prince of Sweden, in opening a Good Templar festival at Hessleholm in 1911:

"The temperance movement is one of the greatest of our time, a movement by which the people will gain self-reliance and self-control. The final aim is nothing less than the most complete possible liberation of our people from the destructive effects of the use of alcohol. There are, of course, differences of opinion as to the best ways of attaining this end. But that that end can and must be reached is the principal point upon which all are united.

"In our time the struggle for existence goes on among the people with increasing sharpness because general development is progressing with remarkable and increasing swiftness. It is of great importance to the State as well as to the individual to use the utmost exertion not to be left helpless in the rear and perhaps to be finally overcome by a more vigorous people or community. I believe that this sharp, but at the same time stimulating struggle, promoting as it does, the physical, moral and mental powers, facilitates greater productiveness in the muscle and nerve-taxing work of our modern times. These powers render possible the best quality and quantity of labor. But what is of yet greater significance, this physical and mental strength is transmitted in a probably increasing degree from generation to generation.

"All of this will so obviously strengthen the competitive power of a people in the world's markets that I do not hesitate to make this assertion: That NATION WHICH IS THE FIRST TO FREE ITSELF FROM THE INJURIOUS EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL WILL THEREBY ATTAIN A MARKED ADVANTAGE OVER OTHER NATIONS IN THE AMICABLE YET INTENSIVE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE. I hope that our country will be the one which will first understand and secure this advantage."

The Dominion of Canada, which has long had the lowest per capita consumption of alcohol of any Commonwealth of such an extent, will soon give us results of the first long test of a prohibition broad enough to be called national. The Premier, Sir Richard Borden, confidently expects beneficent national results because of the success of the provincial prohibition that preceded and prepared for national, as may be seen in the following telegram sent in response to inquiry, to Bishop of Kalgoorlie, West Australia, (published Toronto Pioneer, Aug. 2, 1918):

"PROHIBITION OF THE SALE OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS AS A PROVINCIAL MEASURE HAS BEEN IN FORCE IN EIGHT OUT OF NINE PROVINCES SUFFICIENTLY LONG TO REALIZE AND CONFIRM THE EXPECTATION OF GREAT BENEFITS—MORAL, COMMERCIAL, AND INDUSTRIAL—CONSEQUENT ON ITS ENFORCEMENT."

The White Cyclone of World-Wide Prohibition.

The experiments and experience, that show liquor restriction of every form has failed; that prohibition of every form has helped; and the fact that commonwealth after commonwealth is adopting the prohibition policy, with no backsets in the 20th century except in upset Russia, give us the ARGUMENT OF MANIFEST DESTINY.

Even a liquor seller and his political friends ought to be able to see that prohibition, right or wrong, is coming, and take to the cyclone cellar pointed

out by the Catholic Plenary Council of Baltimore, when it urged Catholics in the liquor business "to find a more honorable way to make their living." In these days when war makes a shortage of labor, it is a favorable time for all in the liquor business to do that.

When I was making ten speeches for war prohibition on a Sunday in Pittsburgh, I entered a church shortly before the pastor had ended his sermon, to be ready to speak at its close. I had in my hand a black roll about eight feet long and as large around as a gas pipe. About that time German spies were blowing up buildings in cities where munitions for the Allies were being made, and so a church officer sitting two pews back of where I sat, whispered to his wife: "That looks suspicious; if that fellow moves I'll have him by the throat." That promises a new chapter of movie thrills, such as "The Perils of Pauline." But I skinned my dynamite before I rose, and behold, it was *white*. And the church officer had never seen white dynamite, and so I went forward unmolested. It *was* dynamite, moral dynamite, to blow up the supreme foe of all lands—a world-map three-fourths white through prohibition by governments and religions. Russia's great prohibition for more than half of Europe and more than half of Asia had turned the majority of the world to prohibition as by a two-thirds vote. There are many qualifications of the map and explanations for which we have here no space, but the eye gets the right impression — PROHIBITION IS MANIFEST DESTINY—A WHITE CYCLONE THAT WILL ERE LONG SWEEP EVERY BAR ROOM OFF THE EARTH, AND GIVE US A SALOONLESS WORLD.

A commercial traveller from New York was caught in a western cyclone and swept a block in the debris of a wrecked building, but miraculously escaped. A home friend to whom he told his thrilling experience, exclaimed, sympathetically, "Can't something be done to stop these cyclones?" The traveller, who had been there, dryly remarked: "No, I think *the best way is just to go right along with them.*"

Even liquor men might as well "go right along with" the purifying white cyclone of prohibition that God is driving across the world.

Appeal to British and French Prohibitionists.

Let the brave minority of prohibitionists in France and England take a note out of war strategy, and while we fight on the Washington front keep our enemies busy on the London and Paris fronts.

Prohibition may be more difficult when the war is over because of the soldier's desire to indulge after hardship, and because of the reconstruction problems that may absorb legislators even more than they are now engaged in the less intricate problem of war.

Let us jump while the wave is on the swell, when prohibition seems to be the tide in the affairs of men that can be taken at the flood.

P. S.—Latest French and British Arguments for Prohibition.

Union Signal of Aug. 1-8, 1918, quotes from French paper, L'Abstinence, an abstract from an address by G. de Jaer at a meeting of French civil engineers from which we cull following:

In the pre-war period France was not only producing great quantities of wine but was importing fully twice as much as she exported. Under these circumstances, said M. de Jaer, wine is not a source of material net wealth, and as it supplies a purely fictitious need, it in no wise contributes to the wealth of the country.

But so far from abolishing the production of fruits now made into wine, he would turn the industry into really useful channels of production by adopting methods already successfully employed in Italy, Austria, Greece, Switzerland and Germany, which, he said, produce unfermented beverages of good quality that will keep and stand transportation.

Further, by applying to the apple and the grape the system of extracting their sweet juices used with the sugar beet, the manufacture of brandy from the pulp would be stopped as there would not be enough juice left to make distillation profitable, but the pulp could be made into excellent cattle feed.

M. de Jaer followed his suggestions with some cogent reasons why France must adopt new methods: "French wine culture will be ruined," he declared, "if the methods of using the grape are not changed." Viticulture is developing all over the world. The number of abstainers is rapidly increasing; in the United States, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries they increase daily, and soon in these great countries they will no longer use anything but the unfermented grape-juice.

The production of wine is even exceeding the requirements of France herself.

"Is the number of drinkers going to increase in the same proportion?" asks M. de Jaer. "Certainly not," he answers, "as the French population is diminishing. Where then does the increased production go? Into the stomachs of those who drink two, three, four, and even ten litres a day. The prosperity of vine culture at present rests with this kind of drinkers, as is easily proved." The votes of the Academy of Medicine in January, 1916, showed that of forty-four members voting, eleven voted that an average of one litre a day might be permissible, thirty-three voted for less than a litre, eleven of the thirty-three voting against any use of wine at all.

The maximum number of wine-drinkers in France, said M. de Jaer, has been placed at ten million. At an average of three-quarters of a litre a day this would amount to 270 litres each per year, a total of 27 million hectolitres or 33 million less than the production, to say nothing of the importation. "THIS EXCESS CONSEQUENTLY MUST BE USED BY THE INTEMPERATE DRINKERS WHOSE CHILDREN IN THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE AFTER THE WAR WILL HAVE TO COMPETE FOR FRANCE WITH CHILDREN OF SOBER PARENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE TEMPERANCE IS NOT AN OBJECT OF MOCKERY."

These are facts, declared M. de Jaer, that must be faced courageously and spoken frankly. Change the use of the vine and it will not be merely 60 million hectolitres that will be required, but 100 million. This way, he maintained, lies future prosperity for France and its vinegrowers.

Mr. Philip W. Wilson, Special Correspondent of the London Daily News, writing from New York of the rapid growth of abstinence and prohibition in the United States (we quote from Clip Sheet of Methodist Board of Temperance of Aug. 17, 1918) says: "THE QUESTION FOR THE OLD WORLD TO DECIDE IS WHETHER SHE WILL HAVE ANY CHANCE ECONOMICALLY AGAINST THE NEW WORLD IF, TO MILITARY AND NAVAL HANDICAPS, SHE ADDS THE BURDEN OF INTEMPERANCE FROM WHICH SOCIETY HERE IS SHAKING ITSELF FREE."

In New York Times Current History Magazine, Winifred Stevens, writing on "Reconstructing the Life of France," says: "All agree that something must be done to rival the attractions of the tavern (where the peasant is too prone to find his only relaxation) and to continue and supplement the teaching of the school." It is proposed to establish in each village—by the State if possible—centres of culture and amusement, but it will be found that these will no more counteract the drink shops in France than libraries and playgrounds do in the United States in license cities. Only by closing the drink shops can their evil work be stopped. Let these be drink shop substitutes to go with prohibition. No addict of opium or alcohol is likely to forego it because there are amusemnts across the way. He will take both.

International prohibition should include all intoxicants, not liquid ones only but opium, cocaine, hashish, as suggested by ex-Senator Henry A. Blair when President of the International Reform Bureau, in a keynote for the 20th Century.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE ALL DRUGS AS WELL AS DRINKS THAT CREATE A DEPRAVED APPETITE, AND THE GOAL SHOULD BE INTERNATIONAL.

"Why 'Bone Dry' State Constitutional Prohibition?"

The Caucasian characteristically assumes that he invented prohibition. He does not prove it: he admits it. Which suggests a new application of the old story of the American boy who was asked by his Sunday school teacher, "Who was the first man?" To which he promptly replied, "George Washington; first in war, first in peace"—The teacher interrupted him to say that Adam was the first man; at which he sniffed, "Well, if you are talking about *foreigners,* I suppose he was." If we do not ignore "*foreigners*" in our history, we shall have to admit that the supremely important invention of prohibition came to us, as did our Christian civilization, from Asia.

It is not flattering to our Caucasian pride to contrast the wisdom and efficiency of India and Arabia, which promptly stamped out drunkenness, centuries ago, on its first strong manifestation, with the shilly-shallying on this issue in old England and New England.

Effective Prohibition in Asia.

When drunkenness was seen to be a social peril in India, and later in Arabia, the leaders of religion and the leaders of Government, with clear vision, undimmed by covetousness, said together: "The way to stop it is to *stop* it. In the name of religion, stop drinking; in the name of government, stop selling." And *they stopped it,* leaving no drug stores in the rear, no cracks in the dyke for "personal use"; no gallon or quart a month indulgences.

The result was that in the course of a few generations the sale and use of intoxicating liquors almost disappeared in Asia. And since the white man came, with his drinking example and his efforts to break down the native abstinence for personal profit and public revenue, only a few thousand of these abstaining Hindus, Buddhists and Mohammedans have been lured from the supreme virtue of their religions.

Those who seek to apologize for the liquor traffic or the liquor habit are wont to say, dogmatically: "There is in the human race an inherent craving for stimulants, and they will be used in one form if not another."

I have five hundred and fifty-five millions of answers to that fallacy: and I am going to give them to you.

That is approximately the number of people who have for generations observed the prohibitory laws of the great religions of Asia—that of Mohammed, given in the seventh century A. D.; that of Buddha given in the fifth century B. C.; and the still earlier prohibitory law of the Hindus, which probably originated as far back as the days of Solomon.

And the name of Solomon reminds us that *the religion of the Bible, properly understood, is also a prohibition religion.* It was Solomon, a Hebrew king, who said, "*Look not thou upon the wine when it is red*"—*a straight prohibition.*

Some people in our day who abstain themselves, serve liquors to their guests. Several of our Presidents have gotten as far as Solomon, but not as far as Habakkuk, who said, "WOE UNTO HIM THAT GIVETH HIS NEIGHBOR DRINK."

That too, is a clear-cut prohibition. When a man is fully convinced that liquor is harmful, and so never drinks, but gives it, nevertheless, to his guests, we recall the woman who said in prayer meeting, "I found my jewelry was dragging my soul down to hell, and so I gave it to my sister."

That Christianity is a total abstinence religion comes out with unmistakable clearness in Paul's command, as correctly translated in the Revision, "ABSTAIN FROM EVERY FORM OF EVIL." If that which Gladstone said "has done more harm than war, pestilence and famine," is not a "form of evil," there is no evil. If it is a "form of evil," we are divinely prohibited from participating in it in any way, by drinking or selling or authorizing the sale.

Anglo-Saxon Blundering on Booze.

In contrast with this wisdom of Asia in dealing with the liquor traffic, let us now turn with shamefacedness to our Anglo-Saxon fathers' thousand years of blundering.

In far off centuries, drunkenness became alarming in Great Britain. The leaders, instead of adopting total abstinence or prohibition or both, said, "We will get the preachers to *preach moderation.* Such preaching had no more effect upon the increasing intemperance than the shouting of children on the beach has on the incoming tide.

Then they *pledged* the people not to drink, except on holidays, and at weddings and funerals, and dedications of churches and ordinations of preachers. They might as well have tried to hold back the inflowing ocean tide by telling children to drive a row of stakes just above the waves at ebb tide.

Then some one conceived the idea that they might *restrict* the traffic by *taxing* it, and at the same time make public *revenue* out of it. The acquisitive Anglo-Saxon must have fairly smacked his lips at that supposed discovery. To any one of clear vision it would have been apparent that *revenue and restriction are like horses whose heads point in opposite directions,* and so can not pull forward in the same team. Those *low license* laws had no more effect on the rising tide of intemperance than low forts of sand built by childish hands on the beach have on the inflowing sea.

Then they said, "We will put a *"high license"* on the drink." This was no more effective than the higher mounds of sand built by the same childish hands have on the rising tide.

Then they said, we must put the traffic into the hands of men "of good moral character"—refusing to see that the evil is not in the "character" of the maker or seller but in the nature of the alcohol. *When elders manufactured rum and deacons served it, it did the devil's work just the same as before.* The church officers became so drunken that the traffic was put into the hands of the preachers; and they, too, became drunkards.

Then they tried *government ownership.* When I think of government ownership I think of King Canute, the Dane, who,—perhaps to rebuke his flattering courtiers, who treated him as almost a god, ordered his throne placed on the beach at low tide, and with his scepter drew a line in the sand, and dramatically cried to the tide: "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." The dashing surf seemed to laugh at the assumption that a human king might control it, and rolled in until the king had to run for his life, with his courtiers dragging his throne chair after him. That might properly be used as a cartoon to show the ineffectiveness of government ownership, alike in Norway and in South Carolina.

Then good men wasted time and money in experiments of "disinterested management," which are usually not so very disinterested, for four per cent of sure revenue is commonly received by those who provide the funds for this scheme.

"Disinterested management" came to its *reductio ad absurdum* in the United States in the Subway Saloon, bought and managed by a company of wine drink-

ing churchmen, who thought they would *prevent the drink from harming the poor man by having it piously sold.* The place was opened with prayer by a bishop, and the Doxology, which was perhaps adapted to the occasion—"Praise God, from whom all whiskey flows." After two years the experiment was given up as a flat failure, and the old barkeeper admitted he "could *mix everything but rum and religion.*"

A Harvard professor, according to a press report, "*experimenting with the intelligence of a worm, has discovered that the wriggling invertebrate knows enough, after three trials, to avoid a path that leads to an electric shock, and to take the road that leads to comfort.*" Our Anglo-Saxon fathers seem to have had less sense than the worm in their experiments with alcohol. Prolonged experiments with the knock out drops, with disastrous results in each case, preceded their final conviction that moderation and license were fatal paths, and they must go the other way. In education and civil liberty and philanthropy the British Empire and the United States have led the modern world, and they have looked down on Asia only a little less than upon Africa; but Asia has not only given Europe a nobler religion than its own, but a better plan for suppression of the greatest moral and social evil. When I read the pitiful story of our fathers' persistent efforts for a thousand years to do what should have been seen at once to be impossible, namely, to feed our appetites with alcoholic fuddle, and our private and public treasuries with revenue and profit, and at the same time restrict to its lowest terms the drink evil, it makes me think of what the boy said who had studied the life of Solomon and his thousand wives and frankly declared, "*He was the greatest fool for a wise man I ever saw.*"

Prohibition Introduced and Defined.

The complete failure of the restriction and revenue copartnership, through which philanthropists persistently endeavored, for centuries, to reduce the drink evil to the minimum, cleared the way for experiments with the various forms of prohibition, which had begun before the license system's failure was generally admitted.

Prohibition does not define accomplishment, but only *the aim and attitude of government toward wrong.* License is a purchased truce—sometimes a surrender; Prohibition is a declaration of war. License is an edict of toleration—sometimes a certificate of "good moral character;" Prohibition is a proclamation of outlawry. As murder, adultery, theft, false witness and political corruption are outlawed, the ringleader of this "gang" ought also to be outlawed. The first requisite of law is justice. A law that sanctions wrong is not law at all but legislative crime. It is not "public sentiment" but public conscience out of which law should be quarried. Law is an educator. Duelling and smuggling and liquor-selling were once in the "best society." Gradually the law has made them disreputable. Rumselling under prohibition is a sneaking fugitive, like counterfeiting—not dead but disgraced, and so shorn of power.

The argument for Prohibition may be concisely stated in four propositions, the four strands of the halter with which the rum traffic is to be hung:

1. The business interests of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the bar-room.

2. The homes of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the bar-room..

3. The political liberty of our country demands the suppression of the worse foe of clean politics—the bar-room.

4. The conscience of the country demands that the attitude of Government toward this foe of business, home and liberty, as toward other foes of the public good, shall be one of uncompromising hostility, regardless of the degree to which the evil can be destroyed. We do not legalize prostitution and gambling, save in backward commonwealths, even when it is admitted they are not likely to be wholly suppressed. The first business of law is to outlaw wrong, to label it, as an educative warning.

Prohibition History in Brief.

The experiments, for about three score years and ten, with various forms of prohibition—local, state and national—have proved them to be, respectively, good, better, best.

While all plans of liquor "restriction" have failed to materially reduce the "evils of drink, after full and fair trial, prohibition, after trials shorter and less fair, has proved reasonably effective—as much so as other laws intended to restrain evils entrenched in the greed and passions of men—laws which must be administered by political agencies.

The history of prohibition may be roughly divided as follows:–

I. First Era of State Prohibition, 1851-1856.
II. Era of Many Repeals of State Prohibition, 1856-1870.
III. Era of Town and County Prohibition, 1870-1907.
IV. Rennaissance of State Prohibition, 1907-1917.
V. National Prohibition (begun in Russia), 1914—
VI. "Bone Dry" Era (begun in U. S.), 1917—
VII. International Prohibition, (?).

There is no time in this brief survey for *retail* proof of the reasonable success of "the Maine Law," the original State prohibition. **We have wholesale proof in the fact that fourteen other States followed Maine.**

Every Northern State, except New Jersey, voted to abolish the bar room in those first five years of prohibition history, 1851-1856; and New Jersey had then its first lucid interval of local option—the only one previous to 1918.

That all these States save Maine, Kansas and North Dakota, relapsed before 1907, was due primarily to absorption of the nation in the Civil War, which should warn us *not to allow ourselves to be drawn again by war from fighting what leaders of all nations in this war have declared to be the supreme foe.*

Prohibitionists of 1856 and after turned their energies to abolition of slavery, but liquor dealers kept up their own selfish fight. They treasonably took advantage of the nation's peril, persistently broke the new prohibition laws, and then urged their lawlessness as a reason why they should be legalized. They whined then, as in 1917-18, that *"divisive issues should be dropped in order to assure unity in winning the war."* And so the foe in the rear successfully defended the slavery of drink, that held more millions under its spell than were delivered from negro slavery.

There was another reason for those repeals which should be recalled for instruction. In that first era of prohibition, as since, many good people expected, childishly, that prohibition, alone of all laws to repress popular evils, would instantly *annihilate* what it forbade. *If any one was arrested for drunkenness in a prohibition State, that was evidence that "prohibition don't prohibit." If some mayor or chief of police or sheriff proved himself a failure, many childish citizens accepted the liquor men's argument that the law should be changed,*

when manifestly the change required was in the officers. Many people, apparently sane, assumed the law was a magic axe that would cut down the drink evil even though people put it into the wrong hands.

The saying of the wicked, "good people are easily fooled," having been verified by the general repeal of state prohibition, many good citizens adopted the local option theory (to be shown at its best in the next chapter), that if a majority of the people of a town should vote "No license," the local officials, even though not elected on that issue, would bow to this proof that local "public sentiment" demands the suppression of the saloon. In fact, local prohibition ordinances were no better enforced than State laws, and were much more handicapped because drink was legally sold in the next town.

Another difficulty in the local option plan is that *liquor men will never allow a no-license election to be a local fight. On their side it is always national. Local option requires Yorktown alone to fight Cornwallis.* Another disadvantage of local prohibition is that when a town has driven saloons from its own doors, some of its people think the prohibition fight ended so far as they are concerned. "Let everybody clean up his own town, and the devil take the hindmost."

Nevertheless the closing of saloons in ever so small an area, even with poor enforcement—prohibition in a circle of fire, with an unfriendly fire company on guard—has always reduced crime and vice, as a thousand statistical contrasts of towns "before" and "after" have shown.

The general return to State prohibition in 1907 and since, has been due less to the temperance forces than to the liquor forces. The business men in most places would have been content to fight it out, town by town if the liquor men had fought fair—local liquor men against local prohibitionists, with a good sport's acceptance of the issue. But, in treasonable disregard of the fundamental principle of democracy, majority rule, the liquor interests, entrenched in the big county seat, broke down the law in the rural parts of the county.

Then citizens said, We must vote by *counties.* But when the good citizens of a county, by a fair vote, ordered the saloons out, liquor dealers invaded the whole county as secretly as German spies, from the State metropolis. Whenever and wherever prohibition won in a fair fight, the liquor interests systematically and persistently tempted citizens by speak-easies and advertisements to purchase liquors, and bought their way to political power to use it for their own business ends rather than the public good. THUS THE LIQUOR MEN DROVE LICENSE MEN AND LOCAL OPTION MEN TO STATE PROHIBITION.

The last straw was the liquor men's "wake" at Cartersville, Georgia, over the burial of their arch foe, Sam Jones. "Now we will come back to Cartersville," they said. That assumption that there was no saloon fighters left, roused the South, and State after State, already more than half "dry" by local option, adopted State-wide prohibition.

State Prohibition Since 1907 Holds, and Entrenches in the Constitution.

The new start in State prohibition, in 1907, in ten years added 25 dry States to the three previously on the dry side—not one State in that period having gone backward except Alabama, which relapsed for one year only, to return in force.

THIS IS THE SUPREME, EXPERIMENTAL ARGUMENT FOR STATE PROHIBITION—A WHOLESALE PROOF, WITHOUT RETAIL

STATISTICS! PROHIBITION, THOUGH IMPERFECT, WORKS SO WELL THAT THE MOVEMENTS IN THE STATES ARE NOW ALL FORWARD—NONE OF THEM BACKWARD TO LICENSE.

Another tremendous wholesale argument for prohibition is, that the big cities that vote "wet" when a State goes "dry," and have to be coerced, vote "dry" when a new referendum is made a year later, even when the proposal is only to make an exception for beer. This was the case in Seattle, Spokane and Denver.

EXPERIENCE SHOWS DEFECTS OF STATE STATUTORY PROHIBITION IN THAT EACH LEGISLATURE MAY BE SECRETLY PACKED TO REPEAL PROHIBITION. THAT KEEPS THE LIQUOR MAN, FAR AND NEAR IN STATE POLITICS, FOR WHICH REASON THE STATES THAT TRY STATUTORY PROHIBITION USUALLY PROCEED TO PUT IT INTO THE CONSTITUTION, THE PEOPLE'S LAW, WHERE ONLY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES CAN CHANGE IT. THAT, IN A NUTSHELL, IS THE ARGUMENT FOR MAKING STATE PROHIBITION CONSTITUTIONAL.

FOR MANY MINDS THE ONLY ARGUMENTS NEEDED FOR STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION ARE: THE EVER-INCREASING EFFORTS OF LIQUOR DEALERS TO DEFEAT IT, AND ITS EVER-INCREASING SPREAD, NEVERTHELESS.

But for the sake of any doubter who is not so convinced we will present some facts from prohibition States, chiefly those that have adopted it recently because it is the purpose of this brief not to reprint to any considerable extent facts already accessible in books, but rather to supplement previous publications with latest statistics and testimonies.

The supreme argument, both in war and peace, for state-wide as well as nation-wide prohibition, is the patriotic argument, that prohibition saves national resources, especially man-power; and the next highest argument is that prohibition is home protection; but closely related to that, since most men are desirous of good wages and business success chiefly for the sake of wife and children, is the argument that prohibition spells prosperity both for workmen and their employers.

Union Labor's Tribute to Prohibition.

The economic benefits of statewide prohibition are conclusively proved in the following representative testimonials from leaders of organized labor in dry States, gathered and published by Ohio Dry Federation in July, 1917:

John L. Donnelly, President Arizona State Federation of Labor: "Arizona workers are certainly better morally and financially than they were before prohibition was adopted."

Bert Davis, First Vice President same: "During the campaign to make Arizona dry, I opposed prohibition because it meant the abolishment of an industry without providing other work for those who would be thrown out of work. I have since come to the conclusion that my fears were at least partly unfounded. The condition of the workers in Arizona is a great deal better than it was before the State went dry. The workers who were in the liquor industry, were largely absorbed by other industries. If I were in the same campaign again I would work and vote for a dry amendment. Workers who formerly spent their money for their own undoing, now spend it for themselves and their families. As far as the rights of the individual are concerned, I consider his rights very small when compared with the rights of a community."

Ernest Beckman, Business Agent, Deputy Organizer, A. F. of L, No. 220 Carpenters and Joiners of America, Wallace, Idaho: "Ten years ago this town boasted 37 saloons. If any one mentioned prohibition he was sneered and laughed at. Now, if a vote were taken, this district would vote dry. The workers now almost all have a bank account. The banks instead of saloons are crowded on Saturday night."

Leon A. Link, Secretary-Treasurer Waterloo Central Labor Union, Waterloo, Iowa: "At the annual convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, this year, I was surprised to find a number of the boys who used to think it would be a calamity if the State went dry, telling of the improved condition in their cities since the saloons closed."

W. B. Somerville, Oregon Labor Leader: "Since the bone-dry law went into effect, 'a rich man's law' is seldom referred to. I might say that if the question of repealing the present law in Oregon, and going back to the saloons was left to a vote of the union men only, that the State would be so dry that none in 100 years would try to wet it up again."

W. F. Evans, business agent Denver (Colorado) Lodge No. 47, International Association of Machinists: "In my opinion no one in Colorado was seriously harmed when the State went dry, while, on the other hand I know personally of cases where they were vastly benefited in that they, themselves, their wives and children had more and better food, better clothes and more of the comforts of life than before the State went dry. I believe that all lines of business were benefited, when the State went dry. It took some little time for the people to adjust themselves to the new order of things, but I do not believe the State would go back to the old order of business, if it was put up to the people to decide again. I have heard people say who voted wet, that if it was to do over again, they would vote dry."

A representative fact from Colorado shows that prohibition is in the interest of the home—of all homes, but especially of the homes of the poor, so often blighted by booze. One of many lines of business that were greatly increased at once by prohibition in Colorado was that of the public laundries. Do you see what the flashlight shows?

The old mother no longer must take in washing to support the family because the father, affectionate when sober, can not get by the gauntlet of saloons with his wages. With saloons closed he brings home his money and says to his wife: "You don't need to take in washing any more. Let the public laundries do it, and we will all go to the movies for a good time."

M. L. Shipman, Commissioner of Labor and Printing in North Carolina: "Conditions throughout the State are a great deal better than during the period prior to the adoption of State prohibition, and we would not think for a moment of returning to former conditions."

President Lewis, United Mineworkers: "In my opinion, any attempt to create the impression that beer is a part of the miner's daily diet is an insult to the mineworkers of the country, a vicious reflection on their intelligence. **To even insinuate that the miners would retaliate by reducing the production of coal if beer were stopped would be resented by the mineworkers of the country.** The prohibition law in West Virginia, as well as other coal producing States, has done much to raise the standard of living, improve the life of the people and contribute to the welfare and happiness of the miners and their families. The elimination of saloons has contributed to an increase in coal production and the health and well-being of the miners."

Even in Great Britain, the belief of some statesmen that workingmen would revolt if prohibition were put in force to save resources needed to win the war, was overwhelmingly disproved by plebiscites in 16 English cities, 2 Welsh, and 14 Scotch, all industrial centres, whose vote was for prohibition in every case, with a total of 197,665 to 80,953, giving a majority of 116,712.

In 1915, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, usually considered the very highest of labor unions, endorsed both statewide and nationwide prohibition. The Brotherhood has always stood for abstinence, even before railroads required it. We all want the engineer on our train to have an eye and hand uninfluenced by drink. But who is there in these days of swift autos and labor shortage that we can afford to allow the liquor dealer to fuddle? And when the war is over and the labor market is over supplied, the old rule will again hold: "The last man hired, and the first man fired is the man who is loaded."

Alert readers will note the many instances in which both workmen and business men and editors, after working hard to defeat prohibition, have been

constrained by its favorable working to admit they were very much mistaken. It would be creditable to those who are now making the same blunder if they would quit the liquor side of this fight before they do any more of the devil's work, and join the temperance Allies to win prohibition in State and Nation and so help to win the war. It is better to prevent than to repent.

* See more of similar labor testimonials on p. 39 of "Why War Prohibition?" and note fact that petitions against prohibition sent to Congress were all from "wet" States that knew nothing of prohibition by experience.

The Logical Way to Test Prohibition States.

The Anti-Prohibition Manual of 1918 devotes pages of space representing months of work to tables that assume to prove that certain dry States had a worse record than certain wet States, on "Savings Accounts," "Illiteracy," "Church Members," "Building and Loan Associations," "Paupers," "Insanity," "Prisoners," "Labor," "Divorces." The figures may be correct and yet prove nothing. We will even add three other subjects on which they might pick out "dry" States that were not better than some "wet" States, namely, "Lynching," "Draft Rejections," and "Population." Southern States are mostly dry, and most of the lynchings are there as most of the negroes are there. That also accounts for a bad record on "Illiteracy" in those dry States. Draft rejections depend on many considerations. It is quite a puzzle to know why the only States that exceed forty per cent. in proportion of draftees rejected (Provost General's Report, Dec., 1917) are: Maine, Connecticut, Vermont and Pennsylvania—Maine slightly less than the other three, but above the 44 States not named, both wet and dry. Population tends strongly to big cities, and so States with rural population feel the pull, and the dry States are mostly rural. Western States from frontier days have been less given to church going and readier to get divorces than people of older Eastern States, and their new prohibition has not yet had time to change either of those tendencies, and perhaps will not materially affect them. It would take a volume to explain why States differ on these points of comparison.

Let any one proclaim, if he dare take the risk of being sent to the insane asylum, that he has figures to prove that the way to decrease illiteracy, insanity, divorce and crime, and increase savings accounts and loan associations and church members is to restore saloons to dry States. THE TRUE TEST OF PROHIBITION STATES IS IN A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE SAME STATES BEFORE AND AFTER PROHIBITION, AND BY THAT TEST STATE PROHIBITION MAKES A TRIUMPHANT SHOWING OF EVERY CASE.

Sometimes the statistics favorable to the drys, such as increased business, is partly due to general conditions and tendencies in the whole country, and such factors should be frankly acknowledged. The benefits that must still be credited to prohibition are more than sufficient to prove its value.

New Prohibition States "Before and After Taking" Prohibition.

As a witness to prohibition's benefits to the State of WASHINGTON,* after two and a half years' testing, we quote from statement of Mary E. Brown, president of West Washington W. C. T. U., in Union Signal, July 25, 1918:

"Within six weeks after the law became effective collections were noticeably easier, sales of food and clothing increased and new savings deposit accounts were opened. At the end of six months it was found that children's and women's wear and the sale of high class groceries had increased twenty-five per cent to thirty per cent, that eating places, groceries, markets, confectionery shops and shoe stores had

* We omit some paragraphs that are quoted on page 34 of "Why War Prohibition?"

multiplied, while the families of working men were better housed, better clothed, and better fed than in the old days when wages were divided between the home and the saloon. One man struck the keynote of the situation in the statement, 'You can't tell a longshoreman from a banker now when you see him on the street.'

"Seattle's population and payroll have both increased with the great influx of shipbuilders, for these expert laborers have not hesitated to accept employment in a city where they are denied the privilege of drinking beer and wine. Instead, they have enthusiastically responded to the call for workmen and given such splendid service that Seattle has set the pace for all shipbuilding centers and is producing twenty-five per cent of the ships being built for the United States. Almost one-third of the tonnage launched July 4 was built in the prohibition territory of the Northwest or, to be more explicit, in Astoria and Portland, Oregon, and the cities on Puget Sound.

"With this great increase in men and money there has been a decided decrease in disorderly conduct, wife desertion, and assaults. Both county and city stockades have largely outlived their day of usefulness as places of detention for petty offenders. Were it not for I. W. W. raids and bootlegger cases the police judge would have a pretty lonely time.

"Eighteen months of prohibition left the rescue houses of Seattle and other cities of Washington with twenty-five per cent to thirty per cent fewer unmarried mothers to care for than in the past and this condition continued till the war caused an increase in the demand for protection for these girls.

"In spite of war conditions and the labor shortage there was a large increase in attendance at the public schools last year, while the finances of the religious organizations have increased surprisingly. Seattle has almost forgotten the saloon as a part of the equipment of a city and will never allow it to return."

In 1914 Washington went dry by a majority of 18,632 votes. After ten months of prohibition the liquor men brought on a referendum election, November 3, 1916, which proved to be their "Armageddon," resulting in the indorsement of prohibition by the decisive majority of 215,036 votes. Seattle went wet in 1914 by 14,000 majority and dry in 1916 by 53,000. In the referendum election of November 3, 1916, the liquor men used all their resources and reserves, but could only rally 48,000 votes. In 1914 "they had no end of newspaper support, but in 1916 they had lost all of their publicity allies and had no editorial support."

Even the druggists of the State demand bone-dry prohibition. In a recent postal card ballot they voted to banish liquors entirely from the State, the vote being 385 to 156. The amendment, to be voted on next fall, banishes all intoxicating liquors from the State. Drug stores cannot keep it. Doctors may administer, but cannot prescribe it.

As to IOWA, whose statutory prohibition law went into effect in 1916, though the State failed in 1917 to make it constitutional prohibition, there is no thought of going wet, and the following statement of the general secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Des Moines is representative of the general satisfaction:

"There is nothing in the talk that prohibition completely demoralizes a large city. There must necessarily be a period of adjustment, which is oftentimes a trifle trying, but no disaster befalls a community if agencies in behalf of it are properly at work. In short, there is nothing of a serious nature in this community growing out of the sudden transition from open saloons to a dry town. The great thing, of course, is the fact that the laboring man cashes his pay check in a grocery store now instead of in a saloon."

The NEBRASKA State Journal, May 1, 1918, gives the following review of that State's first year under prohibition:

"One year ago today the saloons were closed in Nebraska. Inquiry in widely separated communities reveals the presence of almost no opposition to the new policy. Almost invariably the report is of reasonable enforcement of the law, fewer police court cases, better collections, increased bank deposits, and better social order generally. It is conceded that improved business and financial conditions may be due largely to high prices and good crops. Better social order can be charged almost

wholly to the closing of the saloons. Thus the special public prosecutor at Omaha gives these as the results of the first year of prohibition in that city:

"A reduction of 50 per cent. in total police court arrests.
"Heavy reduction of number of charges of wife beating and non-support.
"Decrease in appeals for relief from poor debtors.
"Vagrancy reduced to a minimum.
"Omaha workhouse abandoned because not needed.
"County jail prisoners reduced in number 50 per cent.
"In Lincoln the arrests for drunkenness in the single month of September, 1916, were virtually the same as in the entire first year under prohibition. The number of criminal cases in the district court was almost cut in two.
"Other cities and towns have the same story to tell, the figures showing so striking a uniformity that it would be tiresome to repeat them. The first year has been so great a success for the new policy that its effect on the State is no longer seriously discussed."

Ex-Mayor Dahlman, for two years chief executive of Omaha, is quoted in Union Signal of July 25, 1918, as saying: "I said prohibition wouldn't work but it does. I'm not a prohibitionist, as most every one in Nebraska knows, but this new law seems to be working out to the advantage of this city and its people, It has resulted in a decrease of the social evil; it has cut in two the number of cases of wife abandonment and cruelty to women. Most of the saloon property which was made vacant by the removal of the dramshops has been rented and we've got a lot of new buildings going up. It's surprising to any inquirer to find how many men who voted against and worked against the prohibition constitutional amendment are accepting the situation and boosting the new law now. We never expect to see the city 'wet' again."

"Omaha business men," according to a report published in the Nebraska State Journal, "say that the effect of prohibition has been marked. They find trade better, collections prompt, and more and better goods sold. This is especially evident among the small fellows, the little grocers and bakers. Many of these are men born in foreign lands, and heretofore strong opponents of prohibition. They are for it now, after having seen its effects on their neighbors and their increasd purchasing power. The big employers of labor, like the packing houses, smelter and railroads, are a unit in saying that prohibition has greatly increased the effectiveness of the workers. Fewer accidents in industry are reported since the men have been shut off from their supply of liquor."

As to COLORADO, Ex-Mayor Speer of Denver says: "I voted wet, as did nine-tenths of the business men of Denver, and today I would vote dry if the opportunity were afforded. I know personally of men who used to go to the saloons to spend most of their evenings. I see them today with their families at the picture houses. We know that business collections are better and that the weekly salaries of men are going home to their families instead of into the cash rgisters of the dram shops. We haven't lowered the cost of government under the dry laws, but *our loss of revenue from the saloon licenses has been made up from other sources without necessitating any increase in the tax rates.*"

With the 1st of July, 1918, SOUTH DAKOTA closed a year under state-wide prohibition. The record in Sioux Falls, the metropolis of the State, shows what has been accomplished during the year in the way of decrease in the number of arrests. For the year ending June 30, 1917, when the city was wet, there were 1,473 arrests for all causes. The year ending June 30, 1918, without saloons, the total number of arrests was 118. What is true of Sioux Falls is true in a corresponding degree of other formerly wet cities and towns of the State.

INDIANA, whose prohibition went into effect in July, 1918, at once showed the same symptoms of improvement that we have noted in other dry States.

The workhouse of Marion County, containing Indianapolis, the capital city of the State, was soon closed as a result of prohibition. There was always plenty of patronage to keep it going while the saloons were open. By the closing of the institution, the Board of County Commissioners were saved the annual expenses of the workhouse, which has been approximately $35,000 a year, and thus was made up to the taxpayers from one source alone almost half of the $80,841 which the county had received in fees from liquor licenses in 1917.

When Indiana had been two months under prohibition, April and May, 1918, the State Anti-Saloon League compiled statistics from 21 representative cities on the results, which were as follows:

The Anti-Saloon League of Indiana has compiled statistics from 21 cities showing the number of arrests for April and May, dry, and the number of arrests for the same months last year, under license. These figures are supplied by the city clerks of cities including the following: Birknell, Clinton, Columbus, Crown Point, Dunkirk, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Garrett, Huntington, Indianapolis, Kendallville, Logansport, Madison, Marion, Mishawaka, North Vernon, Richmond, Seymour, South Bend, Tell City and Vincennes.

These figures show that there were 968 fewer arrests for all causes in April this year than last, or a reduction of 34 per cent.

There were 1,184 fewer arrests for all causes in May, this year, than last, or a reduction of 41 per cent.

There were 616 fewer arrests for all causes in May, this year, than in March, or a reduction of 26 per cent.

There were 694 fewer arrests for drunkenness in April, this year, than in April, 1917, or a falling off of 77 per cent.

There were 622 fewer arrests for this offense in May, this year, than in May, 1917, or a reduction of 70 per cent.

There were also 452 fewer arrests in April, this year, than in March, this year, a reduction of 68 per cent.

We quote next an influential testimony that was signed in Detroit, June 22, 1918, after fifty-two days under MICHIGAN'S new prohibition law. It was sent to a hearing in Congress in support of war prohibition, but it is favorable working of State prohibition, which they unitedly certify as the very foremost business men:

"Detroit is the largest city in America under prohibition. The prohibition law went into effect here on May 1 of this year. A great number of our leading industrial concerns are working on immense contracts for war material. It will, therefore, be seen that the experience of our large industries as touching the point raised in the objection of the Shipping Board to prohibition is not only valuable but conclusive on this point.*

"If the Shipping Board and others who object to war emergency prohibition on the ground that it will cause disorganization of labor or revolution among industrial workers, will but study the experience of Detroit, they will find that their anxiety on this matter is totally unfounded. After an unexcelled opportunity of studying the value of prohibition in its relation to industrial efficiency, our conviction is that no measure of conservation would be more valuable to our country and its interests at this time than war emergency prohibition.

* Liquor interests circulated rumors industriously that prohibition had driven many workmen from Detroit. As there is a labor shortoge all over the country and the Government is drawing men from everywhere there was a chance to make the lie seem plausible, but, as always in such cases, examination showed no loss of good workmen due to adoption of the dry policy. The only loss to Detroit from prohibition is the twenty-five per cent. loss of business—in local courts.

"We therefore respectfully submit these considerations and appeal to our National Congress for early favorable action in behalf of this legislation.

Henry M. Leland, president Lincoln Motor Car Co.; Joseph Boyer, president Burroughs Adding Machine Co.; F. S. Bigler, treasurer and general manager Michigan Bolt & Nut Co.; A. R. Demory, vice president the Timken Detroit Axle Co.; John Trix, president American Injector Co.; S. S. Kresge, president S. S. Kresge Co.; Frank P. Johnson, president Detroit Screw Works; F. F. Beall, vice president Packard Motor Car Co.; Richard H. Webber, president J. L. Hudson Co.; Chas. M. Carson, manager Cadillac Motor Car Co.; Richard H. Scott, vice president and general manager Reo Motor Car Co.; Chester M. Culver, secretary Employers' Association of Detroit."

Unless many more prisoners are sentenced by Kent County and Grand Rapids courts to serve *terms upon the Kent County work-farm in the near future this institution will have to be abandoned.* Before the State went dry there always were more than 25 men at work upon the farm. When the terms of the men now upon the farm expire, Manager Bolt will be left alone. The same situation exists at the county jail, Sheriff Berry reports. Before May 1 there were more than 80 prisoners at the jail. Now the number has fallen to below 30 and is getting smaller every day.

Here it is appropriate to add a similar incident from NORTH DAKOTA that proves more than many statistics. I was at a State Sunday School Convention in that dry State in the town of Devil's Lake. Strange as it may seem in a town of such a name the county jail was empty, and as it was a building of fine appointments and there was not room enough in town to house all the delegates, *the ministers were all sent to jail,* which was called the "Sheriff's Hotel." Let some wet State match this and the Michigan story if they can. We can multiply them from other dry States.

The opponents of prohibition are forever citing some old story about alleged non-enforcement of prohibition in Maine, as if that was the only prohibition State to judge by. Let them cite some *new* proofs from at least two or three of the twenty-eight States under prohibition or "forever hold their peace." As for Maine there have been times during the almost three score years and ten that prohibition has been in force in Maine when the law has not been enforced up to the hilt, but it means much that the people of Maine have nevertheless preferred it all this time to the license laws whose working they have seen in nearby States, and in 1918 strengthened their law by giving the Governor power to remove sheriffs who neglect enforcement. Those who cite violations of the liquor laws as if they were peculiar to prohibition States should ponder the statistics given elsewhere showing there is *more illegal liquor selling in license States than in prohibition States, and the worse legalized selling besides.*

Prohibition Tested in Coerced Dry Cities of the South.

Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, Chairman Poster Committee of Boston Associated Charities, gives following results of a personal investigation of four Southern cities that went "dry" against their will: Savannah, Ga., Richmond, Va., Charleston and Columbia, S. C.

The records were taken in the early part of 1917, when the South was under neither old-fashioned nor new-fashioned prohibition, but something between the two. The old variety was, no saloons, no public sale, but *unlimited* importation

for private use. Since July 1, 1917, we have "bone-dry prohibiiton," allowing *no importation for private use.* Between the old, loose measure of *unlimited* importation for personal use, and the "bone-dry" measure, came a period of no saloons, no sale, and *limited* importation for private use.

I went to the four southern cities named, every one of them, as I said, forced to go "dry" against their will, by the vote of the State. Did it work? It did.

Take Charleston, SOUTH CAROLINA, the last spot on earth where one would expect prohibition to work. Lovely, wistful, finely-wrought, it fights all change. The past is the present. Though this is digression, I can not refrain from illustrating by saying that at a tea one afternoon, a lady pointed out the lovely Mrs. So-and-So: "Such a tragedy over the whole family, you know!" she said. I did not "know," but found out that the tragedy happened 145 years before I came to the town, when an ancestor was ranged as a Tory. Places where tragedies adhere 145 years, fight prohibition by nature. Charleston abhorred it. "Never," said the Chief of Police, "have I had to do my duty without the backing of the best people." "What Charleston wants is high license," said a leading minister. "Imagine my having to buy a gallon a month of whiskey when all I need is a quart. It is an outrage."

The abstinence sentiment might be said to be still in a "Charles the First" state, and yet here is the curious thing, prohibition was helping. Emergency cases, street wounds, and so forth, had been cut more than half in the main hospital where the poor go, and alcoholism had also suffered a great diminution, and at the county jail arrests for drunkenness had fallen thus:

Number of persons committed for drunkenness to the Charleston County jail, 1912, (wet), 432; 1916 (dry), 237; with no corresponding increase in drug cases.

There was, of course, and usually is, a factor that enters into prohibition. The better people of the South abhor lynching, and there is a real movement for law enforcement in South Carolina. Many men wanted law-enforcement who did not, perhaps, want prohibition. Wishing to help this, the Country Club and the Charleston Club had given up the use of all liquors. You would see stately gentlemen ring the bell at the Charleston Club, and call for a "glass of water." This fine feeling for law-enforcement, in a way, made up for the lack of abstinence sentiment, and thus in Charleston, South Carolina, that haunt of things lovely and things past, modern, gallon-a-month prohibition was helping.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating: prohibition in Charleston worked better than "dispensary" saloons.

Coming to Savannah, GEORGIA, we found a city forced "dry" against its will, but reconciled by results. Everywhere we went, hospitals, police stations, banks, retail merchants' associations, it was the same. "We fought it, but we are converted; prohibition helps."

"Two years ago," said Dr. Brunner, secretary of Savannah's Sanitary Commission and a leading health expert of the country, "*I called prohibition poppycock, but prohibition enforced is a mighty good thing, and we've got that mighty good thing here.*" Dr. Brunner declared that the prison chain gang that keeps Savannah drained and standing—the city is built in a swamp—had about six to seven hundred members before prohibition came, but in August, after three months of dryness, the gang has fallen to about two hundred, and thus it has stayed ever since.

"And look at my homicides," cried the enthusiast. "Prohibition began May 1, 1916.

In 1915,—24 homicides (negro by negro).
In 1916,—10 homicides (negro by negro),

and eight of these 1916 homicides took place before prohibition became the law."

"Who fought prohibition hardest?" I asked. The answer was, "The rich and fashionable." "Where are they?" "Over on the bay." So to the bay I went, to the Cotton Exchange over the river.

The Secretary, Mr. Teesdale, said: "No, we were not for prohibition here. Bitter were the complaints at first, especially when a saloon opposite closed at which it was said the Exchange spent $10,000 a year. But gradually we got used to it, and as the reduced wreckage and better business resulting from prohibition came more and more to our ears, the men at the Exchange became reconciled, and now I think very few of them would like to see the saloon back. The fact is, *prohibition is good for a town.*"

It evidently was good for that loveliest of American cities, Savannah, as police records showed thus:

"Arrests for drunkenness had fallen (comparing the ten months before and after prohibition) from 2,117 to 1,052, or 51 per cent.

"Arrests for assault with intent to murder, from 49 to 18, or 64 per cent. Lunacy, from 61 to 28, or 54 per cent., and so on."

One thing I wish especially to note before leaving Savannah, in view of the prohibition fight that is coming: the brewers, who really are the great owners of the saloons, and the wine interests will make a fight for "a separate peace for wine and beer," and many academic people will say, "Excellent, get rid of distilled liquor, but keep wine for our club men, and beer for the working man." Carlyle said: "How beautiful to die of a broken heart—on paper! Quite another thing in practice!" Wine and beer schemes are precisely like that, they sound well on paper, but in practice they do not work out.

From 1908 to 1916 Georgia was under a law that forbade the sale of distilled liquors in saloons but allowed the sale of light or "near-beer." It simply did not work. The saloons once open would sell whiskey as well as beer, and as for the beer being "*light* beer," Judge Broyles of Atlanta said, "**A light or 'near-beer' law is practically unenforceable as you can not have a chemist with every barrel to see that the beer is light.**" Georgia's light beer scheme was a failure, as beer experiments have always been.

Coming to Columbia, SOUTH CAROLINA, we found the same reduction under prohibition, thus:

	1914 (wet)	1915 (wet)	1916 (dry)
Total arrests.....	8,421	8,417	5,173
Arrests for drunkenness..	1,008	1,006	341
Drunk and disorderly.....	979	789	365

A young man said, "Oh, the men in 1916 were more prosperous and so paid their fines and thus did not get recorded, hence the decrease." This proved to be not true, the number of fines paid being: 1914, 3,832; 1915, 3,262; 1916, 2,780.

While prosperity may enter in, and other factors, PROHIBITION DOES SEEM TO BE THE MAIN FACTOR IN THE REDUCTION OF WRECKAGE.

It is generally thought that the main reason that the South is under prohibition is because it fears the negro in liquor. There may be something in this, but the South does not seem to think there is much. The South is old American, they said, with 96 per cent. of the population native born, and the

bulk of the people living outside the cities. Rural American populations, still going sedulously to the Baptist or Methodist Church, come early into abstinence and prohibition. "When a man in North Carolina wants to run for Congress, first he takes a Sunday school class, then he gets to be the superintendent, and then he is ready to run for Congress."

As you approach the towns, the signs read: "Good Churches, Good Clubs," and you come last to "Good Factory Sites." Great, agricultural, Anglo-Saxon populations vote naturally, under a little prodding, for prohibition—hence the rapidity of the movement in the South.

VIRGINIA is precisely such a State as I have described; hence it goes "dry" long before Massachusetts or New York, the latter being States where you have great urban populations made up of the very poor and the very rich, both classes that do not respond so readily to that which saves the race as do the people that are neither submerged with poverty nor riches. (In Massachusetts, 92 per cent. of the population live in cities and of the 29 estates of the people in the nation at large that have an annual income of over $2,000,000 almost all live in the Eastern or near Eastern States.)

In Richmond, Virginia, we struck hard the philosophical anarchists, fighting prohibition on the ground of "personal liberty." It was there that Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death," and anti-prohibitionists had gone up and down the State before the election, declaring that prohibition meant the knell of Patrick Henry's ideal. But even so, prohibition had come, and what is more, was working for betterment. The conservative paper, the News and Leader, which had fought prohibition, had been converted "because," said Dr. Freeman the editor, "The thing works. We confess we understimated our power to get the law enforced." "The churches did it," he added. Dr. Freeman told us that in the negro quarters, cash receipts after prohibition incrased from 25 to 50 per cent. "Generally speaking," he said, "pauperism is at the lowest ebb, I have ever known it, and while prosperity is playing its part, prohibition is also responsible for this low pauperism. No lockers are allowed in any Richmond club, and every club in the city has ruled to enforce the law and to expel all backsliders."

All this came from a recent convert—and there were many such. Old Judge Crutchfield, of the Police Court—judge there off and on for forty-five years—said: *"Put it down, Crutchfield voted wet as a rag, but the thing helps mightily, so put it down also that next time Crutchfield votes dry wih a big D."*

The thing did help. We went to institution after institution, and everywhere the records showed a sudden marked fall in the months of November and December, 1916, after prohibition was introduced. For example, during the first month of prohibition the State jail population showed a decline of 49 per cent.; the second month of 50 per cent. People often object to short records. A longer one comes from the State penitentiary: Average number of prisoners for the five Decembers before prohibition, 97; December after prohibition, 70; for five Januaries before prohibition, 42; January after, 22; for five Februaries before prohibition, 58; February after prohibition, 35.

Judge Ricks, whose Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court is truly remarkable, was strong for prohibition, and his court records showed a sudden and continuous decline in wife-beatings and cases of non-support following prohibition.

And so it was everywhere. The men who had fought prohibition hardest were convinced that it was "better for business and better for buyers."

Virginia has an excellent law and a Commissioner to enforce the law. There was some trouble with patent medicines, though the law is framed so as to cure this weak spot in prohibition. But, despite boot-legging and patent medicines containing alcohol, the law was working great betterment.

THE RACE THAT SURVIVES IS THE RACE THAT SEIZES BETTERMENT WHEREVER IT CAN. AS WE ARE VIRILE, SO SHALL WE DEVELOP PROHIBITION. IT WILL BE A STEP BY STEP PROCESS, BUT IN THE END, IF WE BACK THE PROCESS WITH CONSTANT EDUCATION FOR TOTAL ABSTINENCE, IT WILL LAND US IN A WELL-NIGH DRINKLESS WORLD, AND THE WHITE RACE WILL HAVE LEFT BEHIND ANOTHER GREAT DRAG ON ITS UPWARD PROGRESS, JUST AS IT LONG AGO LEFT BEHIND HUMAN SACRIFICE AND MORE RECENTLY SLAVERY.

Prohibition helps, therefore help prohibition, should be one of the slogans of good citizenship.

During March and April, 1918, the following statements were made by the Governors of prohibition States:

Arkansas: Governor Hays, "Ninety per cent. fewer arrests for drunkenness. Prohibition a decided success."

Arizona: Governor Hunt, "Since prohibition went into force, marked decrease in commitments to prison and insane hospital; needy families perceptibly decreased; no adverse effect upon legitimate business."

Colorado: Governor Carlson, "Two thousand new savings accounts opened in one month; collections in department stores broke all records; credit men report many over-due accounts (deemed uncollectable), paid up. Crime reduced greatly. Prohibition a great success."

Idaho: Governor Alexander, "The results of prohibition are most satisfactory. Never such beneficial results from any other measure in so short a time; savings banks' deposits increased; Boise chief of police and four policemen dismissed because no longer needed; police courts deserted; city and county jail empty; accidents decreased."

Iowa: Governor Clark, "Prohibition has reduced arrests from 40 to 45 per cent.; commitments to State hospitals greatly decreased; demands on poor fund much improved; importation of intoxicants reduced nine-tenths."

Kansas: Governor Capper, "Wealth per capita greater than any liquor State; death rate lowest per capita; bank deposits largest of any State; no open bar-rooms and two million people who never saw a liquor saloon; an automobile to every fifth family."

Maine: Governor Milliken, "The honest efforts of all officials charged with the enforcement of the prohibition law in Maine have brought about a condition so satisfactory that all discussion of the wisdom of the law has permanently ended."

North Carolina: Governor Kerr, "The benefits of prohibition are great and are continually increasing. Twenty-one per cent. more children attending school; bank deposits increased 100 per cent.; building and loan association stock increased 250 per cent."

North Dakota: Governor Hanna, "Both from the moral and financial standpoints, prohibition has been a success in North Dakota.".

Tennessee: Governor Rye, "We have lost the liquor traffic and we are glad; crime reduced; streets free from drunkards; bank deposits enormously increased; property more valuable; life safer; people more prosperous and happier; public morals on a higher plane."

Virginia: Governor Hatfield, "Business has improved; arrests decreased; insane commitments less; savings banks' deposits swelled; prohibition a great success."

Should Prohibition Spare Wine and Beer?

It is an amazing illustration of how little this hustling age knows of history that the Hearst papers' "drive" to exclude beer and wine from American prohibition has in California secured the endorsement of some temperance forces, having previously gotten some respectability by the President's successful interposition in Congress to get a "separate peace for beer," but only on the ground that it was necessary to prevent delay of the food bill. It should be noted that while Congress yielded only to avoid a filibuster, all other motions in Congress to exclude beer or wine or both from prohibition laws have been voted down by large majorities. For example, in the House on December 17, 1917, an amendment to allow 3 per cent. beer and 14 per cent. wine was defeated by the Representatives of all the people by a vote of 237 to 107. Great Britain fully proved by tragic and disgraceful experience long ago, as Massachusetts and Georgia have more recently that drunkenness is not decreased by limiting liquor selling to wine and beer.

And the numerous experiments in European and American laboratories showing that single indulgence in moderate portions of wine and beer impair sight and touch and aim and almost every power of body and mind, make it *a badge of ignorance or deceit for any one to assume either that the only evil of drinking is getting drunk, or that the only harmful drink is whiskey.*

Miss Cora Frances Stoddard in an up-to-date collection of data made in 1918 for The Welfare Orator, published by the International Reform Bureau, presents the following facts which should discredit and defeat any effort in State legislature or Congress to separate wine and beer from its long time partnership with whiskey. All these Booze Brothers have done the devil's work together in their lives, and in the near hour appointed for their death they should not be divided. Miss Stoddard says:

"It was a beer and wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to two or three glasses of four per cent. beer or half pint of ten per cent. wine) that Kraepelin found impaired the perception and attention needed by lookouts, signal men, sentries, engineers, automobile drivers, machinists and others in military and civil life.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (equivalent to one-fourth glasses of beer or one-fifth to four-fifths of a pint of wine) that Joss found decreased in adult students the power of attention, concentration, mental keenness 4.9 per cent. the first hour, 10.9 per cent. the second hour, 12.5 per cent. the third hour.

"It was beer or wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to two glasses of beer or a half pint of wine) that Totterman found markedly reduced the co-ordination of eye and hand work needed in range finding, sextant-observing, sighting of guns, delicate machine work of all kinds.

"It was a beer and wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to three-fourths of a pint of wine or a little over four glasses of beer) that Frankfurther found increased 17 times the relative number of errors in typewriting.

"It was a wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to four-fifths of a pint of wine) that Aschaffenberg found decreased the amount of work done by typesetters 8.7 per cent.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (equivalent to about two pints of beer or three-fourths of a pint of wine) that Kraepelin found impaired accuracy in marksmanship in the Bavarian Army.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (the equivalent of two and four-glasses of beer or one pint of wine) that Lieutenant Boy of the Swedish Army found reduced endurance in shooting 22½ per cent.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (the equivalent of two and four-tenths glasses of beer) taken daily that Smith found impaired ability to memorize and to add numbers.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (equivalent to two to two and one-third glasses of beer, or 10 ounces of wine) that Durig and Schnyder found diminished muscle working ability in lifting and mountain climbing and increased fatigue.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol that in practically all these experiments misled the person using the alcohol into thinking that he was working better, when actually his work was poorer.

"It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (equivalent to one and one-half to two and one-third pints of beer or 10 to 15 ounces of wine) that Dodge and Benedict, of the Carnegie Nutrition Laboratory, Boston, found definitely depressed combined nerve and muscle activity. This with other results gave "clear indication of decreased organic efficiency as a result of moderate doses of alcohol."

"*The amounts of alcohol used in the foregoing experiments are commonly taken in wine or beer by hundreds of thousands of drinkers. They have been proven to decrease physical and mental-working ability and to shorten life.*"*

The Crux of "Bone Dry" Prohibition.

These statements of the impairment of efficiency by the most moderate drinking of the mildest liquors, whether the alcohol is taken into the system when on duty or off duty—since the effect abides for days—brings us to THE VERY CRUX OF "BONE DRY" PROHIBITION. OUR FIGHT HAS BEEN SO LONG "ANTI-SALOON" THAT IT IS HARD TO REALIZE IT IS NOW "ANTI-ALCOHOL." THE CHANGE IS AS RADICAL AS FROM THE OLD MODERATION PLEDGES TO THE TEETOTAL PLEDGE; AS GREAT AS BETWEEN THE MEANING OF LIBERTY IN OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—LIBERTY FOR WHITE MEN ONLY—AND LIBERTY SINCE THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION MADE IT APPLY TO ALL MEN. IN THIS "BONE DRY" ERA WE WORK FOR MORE THAN "A SALOONLESS NATION"—AN ALCOHOL-FREE LAND.

In Germany's atrocities scientists find a horrible example of what daily use of beer by a whole nation from childhood does to a nation.

That strong drink played a most prominent part in the atrocities committed by the Germans in Belgium in the early days of the war, becomes more and more evident as one writer after another relates the history of those days. One of the latest to give testimony of this sort is the Baroness Huard, who was Miss Frances Wilson of New Rochelle, N. Y. She married Baron Charles Huard, a French artist, and her country home, Chateau de Villiers, about 60 miles from Paris, was used by Von Kluck and other high German officers as headquarters.

* This article may be found in full in Congressional Record June 27, 1917, p. 4741, also in booklet supplied by International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C., at 6 cents each, postpaid.

In American Magazine, August, 1918, she describes the unspeakable filthy condition in which they left her home.

"It was not the kind of dirt which might unavoidably be brought into a house thus occupied: the mud from roads and fields—that sort of thing. It wasn't natural untidiness of improvised officers, or of rooms not cared for by servants. It was simply disgusting filth and the debris of wanton, malicious destruction. Furnishings which could not be removed were deliberately ruined. And this ruin was accomplished by methods so revolting that even a self-respecting savage would have been ashamed of them. Why any kind of men, let alone those of supposed education and breeding, should deliberately have made an Augean stable of a house in which they themselves were living is beyond the comprehension of an 'unkultured' intelligence like mine. But that is what they did. It could not have been got into such a state of any hasty effort after they knew that they were going to leave it. They must have lived in the filth they made. Unlike many old continental houses, the chateau was fitted with modern toilet arrangements. But these seemed to appeal to German staff officers only moderately—except as a means of dishonoring the American flag." (Such a flag was found, the writer states, clogging the waste pipe of one of the toilets.) "Instead the satin hangings, corners of the rooms, the beds, and other equally inappropriate places, were assigned a role which the modern plumbing arrangements made unnecessary, to say the least."

The baroness herself gives the explanation of this state of things, and of the minds responsible for them, when she states: "*The drawing-room when I got back home looked like a cheap beer garden after a Saturday night's riot. Only, in this case, it had been a champagne orgy, for Villiers is in the heart of the champagne district.*"

The rape and murder that came to Belgium as from a Pandora's box from the Germans' capture of its great stores of wine and beer represents a still worse form of the savagery which alcohol promoted in men already too cruel and licentious. The defeat of Germany in the first battle of the Marne is also attributed in part to the wines of Belgium and Northern France by both French and German writers, adding to the alcohol harvest of brutality the second crop of inefficiency. The wine ration there spelled retreat for the most powerful army in the world at that time.

Alcohol Dries Up the Finest Cells of the Brain.

Alcohol taken in any beverage flies at once to the two great centers of life, the headquarters of the voluntary and involuntary nervous systems, the brain and organs of parenthood. *Every drop of beer kills a cell.* The alcohol dries up the top of the brain as a sirocco wind would dry up apple blossoms in the top of the tree. The higher and finer brain cells that civilization has added to the savage brain, those that prompt us to kindness and justice and service and sacrifice, are thus destroyed, leaving the savage brain with modern bombs and submarines in place of club and arrowheads for its weapons.

What alcohol has done to the German nation it will do to both individuals and nations that adopt its daily use, and our soldiers' contacts abroad make this a very real peril for our future. The daily use of alcohol by workingmen not only lowers efficiency, but makes them brutal, and so makes more perilous the coming days of industrial reconstruction. In the light of these facts let us ponder as the very key of our new "bone dry" prohibition the following words of Dr. Eugene Lyman Fisk, of the Life Extension Institute, speaking to New

York Industrial Safety Congress in December, 1917 (see published proceedings):

"It might be thought paradoxical that alcohol is a depressant and yet produces apparent *stimulation*. It does that by dulling what we call the inhibitory elements of the brain that have to do with conduct, those higher elements that govern our conduct with our fellows. They are blunted, and there is a *release of the lower activities*. I have mentioned that as the lower activities recover, the higher come under the influence of alcohol, and that explains such action. A MAN IS LED TO ACTION BY ALCOHOL, BUT ACTION BY THE LOWER MAN, THE PRIMITIVE MAN; THE CAVE MAN COMES TO LIFE AS THE CIVILIZED, TRAINED, POISED MAN GOES TO SLEEP. That is how alcohol can at one and the same time be a stimulant and a depressant, but there should be no mistake about this—there is no real stimulation, there is no real direct action on the heart or on the nervous system. It is only that ONE ACTIVITY ARISES THROUGH THE PARALYSIS OF ANOTHER ACTIVITY OF A HIGHER SORT."

This passage should be profoundly pondered by thousands of fairly good men who have long been "anti-saloon" as a matter of public policy but are not yet "anti-alcohol" in personal practice. They have cheered attacks on the saloon and generously financed them, but have taken a drink occasionally, if not daily, and they even patronize saloons while they remain. They expect when saloons are legally closed to still get their drinks, if not by importation into dry territory, at least when traveling in wet cities. Some of them keep some of the wet goods in their own homes. Those who have hitherto called such men "hypocrites" have missed the mark. Prohibition from 1851 to 1917 did not and could not prohibit "importation for personal use." Its aim was only to close saloons, to stop the sale in certain areas, because saloons promote drinking, and become "germ centers of lawlessness," as the president of the Catholic University reminds us. But now the national Reid law provides that when a State forbids manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors it shall be "bone dry," that is, there can be no legal importation. *Every loyal friend of prohibition is therefore bound to give up personal use and induce all others to do so in this "bone dry" era, lest much illegal personal use cause repeal of the law.* The foregoing words of Dr. Fisk and others that give evidence of the effect of moderate occasional drinking on efficiency of thinkers as well as workers, should therefore be made known to everybody, THAT PROHIBITION MAY BE CULMINATED AND SEALED BY EACH MAN CLOSING "THE DRINKING PLACE" UNDER HIS OWN NOSE.

Home Protection.

We temperance speakers commonly stress the economic appeal for prohibition, that diverting the golden stream of wasted money from the saloons will give more profits to every honest business and so more wages to workers and more money for raw materials to farmers. But to all these men THE FAMILY IS REALLY A HIGHER "INTEREST." IT IS FOR THE SAKE OF WIFE AND CHILDREN CHIEFLY THAT MEN TOIL. THE ARGUMENT OF "HOME PROTECTION" IS THEREFORE THE STRONGEST ARGUMENT, EXCEPT THE SUPREME PATRIOTIC AND HUMANITARIAN ARGUMENT, THAT WE MUST SUPPRESS THE SALOONS TO FIGHT THE WAR THROUGH WITH OUR FULL STRENGTH TO SPEEDY VICTORY.

The home protection argument, though strong, need not be long, for it is self-evident. I believe that another "crusade" would be worth while, in which men as well as women would visit saloons, preferably without publicity and

singly or in small groups in a kindly spirit and ask liquor sellers to quit even before they are compelled to do so, for the sake of their own families, daily oppressed with shame in school and church and street because they are related to this dishonorable business. Here is a fresh story that should encourage such quiet crusading.

Can a New York hotel, one of the real hotels that are a part of the life of the city, of the spirit of the thousands who come there for a holiday, be operated successfully without a bar? Frank Case, proprietor of the Algonquin for the last fourteen years, says "Yes," and feels sufficiently sure of it to apply the only real test. He closed his bar recently, and it will stay closed. He announced his intention to a group of friends at the hotel. "Why?" asked one of them after they had recovered from their astonishment. "Well, THERE'S ONE REASON RIGHT THERE," REPLIED CASE, POINTING TO A SMALL BOY CROSSING THE HOTEL LOBBY WITH A BUNCH OF SCHOOL BOOKS UNDER HIS ARM, ON HIS WAY TO THE FAMILY APARTMENT UPSTAIRS. "THAT YOUNGSTER IS MY OWN SON, JUST COMING HOME FROM SCHOOL. I HAVE DECIDED THAT I DON'T WANT TO PAY HIS SCHOOL BILLS AND THE OTHER COSTS OF BRINGING HIM UP ON THE PROFITS FROM BOOZE. I GUESS THAT'S MY CHIEF REASON, BUT THERE ARE OTHERS.

"The bar got too profitable last year, or probably I would not have thought of this thing. It never had amounted to much previously. It wasn't a real business asset as a bar for stand-up drinking by the people who ran in from the street for the sake of drinking and nothing else, but only a source of supply for the people who lived in the house and wanted wine or cocktail or highballs at luncheon or dinner. That was all I wanted it or intended it should be. I did not give the personal attention to the profits from it that I would to the profit on a poached egg.

"But something happened to the bar in 1916. I had a new man in charge of it, and he went in for business. He got it. At the end of the year the figures showed that my net profits on the bar alone had been $10,560. Now, I like to make money as well as the next man. That is what I am in the hotel business for. I am not a prohibitionist nor a temperance missionary, and I have no right nor desire to interfere with the personal liberty of a patron of my hotel. Nevertheless, those figures made me sick. I had to admit to myself that I was a rumseller, and that is something I don't want to be. I am a hotelkeeper, and believe that a distinction can and should be made between the two jobs. I am going to make it.

"Of course I'll have to admit that it has taken me three months to come to the scratch because a human being hates to let go of $10,000 a year as a matter of sentiment before he is sure he can make it up somewhere else. I don't know yet that I can make it up, but I'll have all that barroom space for extra dining-room or some other purpose."

How Drink Handicaps Childhood.

Mr. Charles Stelzle, in exposing the fallacy of one of the most laborious defenses of the liquor traffic in the "Anti-Prohibition Manual," opens up the pathetic sufferings of childhood, beginning before birth, because of parental drinking. He says:

"After spending a month in the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh studying the criminal records of the world, an investigator for the liquor men found that 56 per cent of all criminals were abandoned in childhood.

"He made this study to prove that the liquor business is not responsible for the large number of criminals which prohibitionists say it produces.

"*How does it happen that so large a percentage of the criminal class were abandoned in childhood? What kind of parents did they have?*

"Those who have lived and labored amongst the poorest people in our great cities for many years declare that comparatively few children are abandoned on account of poverty. Usually a mother will work herself to death, rather than abandon her child, no matter how poor she may be.

"Ordinarily, children are deserted by their parents because these parents have become sodden and depraved through the use of strong drink.

"*So that in the last analysis we may charge up to the use of liquor the desertion of babies and little children—indeed it has been clearly demonstrated by a most comprehensive study that* 45 *per cent of the child desertion in this country is due to the liquor habit.*"

Mr. David Reid, Superintendent of Hope Mission, Boston, my associate in three prohibition automobile tours, who has seen much of the home tragedy written in mud and blood by the saloon, tells the following two-edged story in his street appeals to voters during prohibition campaigns:

"Perhaps some of you don't care so long as the liquor traffic doesn't hurt you and yours. Well, you are born but not buried. A certain gentleman in a Massachusetts city was importuned to vote 'No License' in the yearly city election. Roughly he replied: 'It is none of my business. Liquor never hurt me. If a man wants a drink, that is his concern.'

"Well, we will see. Christmas soon came along, and he, wanting his six-year-old boy to be as well off as the other boys in the neighborhood, bought him a pretty sled. A few days later sufficient snow fell to put the road in fine condition for sledding. Johnnie saw the children of the neighborhood coasting down the hill, and so he got out his sled to join them. At the foot of the hill was a manhole at which city employees were at work. Opposite the manhole was a saloon. These employees, thinking there was no harm in just stepping across and having a drink, did so. But while they were drinking Johnnie came scooting down the hill, and being inexperienced in guiding, went straight into the manhole, plunging head first into the filthy sewerage. It was about an hour ere his lifeless body was recovered and brought home. Later in the afternoon, when the father came home from his daily toil, he pressed the electric button, expecting the usual kiss and welcome greeting of his faithful wife; but to his surprise the woman next door answered the call. Surmising that something was wrong, he asked for his wife, and the neighbor pointed to another room. Nervously he opened the door, and there stood his wife in a stooping posture, looking on the lifeless form of their boy and only child, and weeping as if her heart would break. Wild-eyed he looked around asking for an explanation, but the wife, who was choking with sobs, could not speak. The neighbor, seeing the situation, told him the whole story. Then he vowed he would wage unceasing war against the saloon till it was swept from the land. The anguish of the drunkard's wife and family had been nothing to him. But now he raged because he, too, had to suffer. Ah, we never can tell when this dread curse may visit our homes, so let us all join together and banish the deadly foe of all homes from the face of the earth."

Liquor Men's Plea for Unity.

The most pathetic argument of the liquor dealers for a stay of execution—an argument which they use alike against war prohibition, constitutional prohibition,

State-wide and local prohibition—is that there should be no questions brought up in this war time on which the people are strongly divided; that we must avoid all contention and strife and maintain domestic peace while we are prosecuting foreign war. This plea sounds strangely from a trade which from the days of Solomon, three thousand years ago, has been noted as the occasion of "contentions" and "wounds without cause"; a trade that has made friends and relatives slay each other, both promoted riots and lynching in the streets.

But the supreme answer to this so-called argument is that the war itself, infinitely more contentious than any strife of words at home, is prolonged by the toleration of the liquor traffic, since it weakens every branch of our war work. THE PEACE THAT WE MOST NEED AND DESIRE IN THIS COUNTRY IS NOT THE PEACE OF SUPPRESSED OPINIONS, THAT IS, OF SUPPRESSED DEMOCRACY, OF WHICH POLITICAL DISCUSSION IS THE VERY BREATH OF LIFE; NOT THE PEACE OF TOLERATED WRONG DOING, BUT THE PEACE THAT SHALL COME THROUGH VICTORY OVER THE EVIL POWERS WITH WHICH WE ARE FIGHTING. AND THE SHORT CUT TO THAT PEACE IS BY THE ELIMINATION OF WHAT THE GREAT LEADERS OF ALL THE ALLIES HAVE DECLARED TO BE A GREATER FOE THAN GERMANY, THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC, THAT SMITES WAR FORCES IN FRONT AND REAR, DISABLING SOLDIERS WITH UNSPEAKABLE DISEASES ON THE FIRING LINE; DISABLING MUNITION WORKERS WITH DRUNKENNESS; HINDERING TRANSPORTATION WITH ITS BEER BARRELS TRAVELING BOTH WAYS; EMBARRASSING THE FUEL SITUATION BY ITS VAST CONSUMPTION OF COAL; AND WORST OF ALL, WEAKENING BY ITS DOMINATION OF POLITICS THE DEMOCRACY WHICH WE ARE FIGHTING TO GIVE TO THE WORLD.

Here is an appealing story of the largest coal mining camp in Utah "before" and "after" the State went "dry:" "There are a large number of coke ovens, and the labor is largely from the south of Europe. They were accustomed to drinking a great amount of light wines and beer, together with an occasional whiskey celebration. These men were violently opposed to prohibition, and declared that they could not 'pull coke' without their wines and beer. The amount of beer consumed there is unbelievable. One who visited the camp after prohibition came in force was assured the tonnage per man had greatly increased, and that families that never knew what proper living conditions meant, in spite of the fact that the head of the house earned high wages, were now well dressed, well fed, and found life worth living. Here are two representative cases: An Italian who had been a very heavy drinker, when asked about his beer said that it was very hard on him at first, and that he felt very bitter at not being allowed to indulge his personal liberty, but that now he realized the vast amount of good that had come to him in spite of himself. He said that the other day, having no place in particular to go because of the saloons being closed, and not being altogether weaned of his old habits, he went into the store and while looking around decided to take home some candy to his children. When he got home and his wife opened up the package and saw what he had done, she threw her arms about him and cried and cried, for, as he said, this was really the first time in his life that he had thought of doing such a thing and he was greatly impressed with its effect—an effect that he had not thought about at all. He told me this in his broken English, and his face was wonderful to see as he related this experience.

At another of the Utah coal camps, an American was never really sober, though he worked hard almost every day; was always behind, and only intelligent work on the part of the office force kept his family in food and clothing. He was continually garnisheed and always in debt. At a meeting of the officials at this camp after prohibition had had a chance this man was present, and it was proposed that as long as they were all together they might as well organize for the Third Liberty Bond issue. This had not been thought of before, but this man stepped out and said, "Yes, come on, boys; my wife thinks a great deal of me since I quit drinking; put me down for a bond. I'm going to show you fellows something." And he reached into his pocket and took out a roll of money from which he paid for his $100 Bond IN CASH.

We must banish the drink and the vices that nest with it to ennoble our "morale," which is more than morals, more than personal character. "Morale" is the Christian hope and courage of a whole nation or a group of nations, that believe the world is no fortuitous concourse of atoms but an ethical universe in step with God. Our confidence, in the words of Dr. Washington Gladden, is that

> "Fierce though the fiends may fight
> And long though the angels hide,
> WE KNOW THAT THE TRUTH AND RIGHT
> HAVE THE UNIVERSE ON THEIR SIDE."

Why No License?

The first thing citizens need to be "shown" in a no-license campaign, under "local option" or "local veto," during this war time of world-wide vision, is that a fight for local prohibition is worth while. Drys and wets are both agreed that the United States is to be "A Saloonless Nation in 1920" by constitutional prohibition, "for keeps"; and saloonless sooner for the war period, with a probability the two prohibitions will overlap. Even in countries where prohibition in large areas is not imminent, there are some who need to be shown that the gains to be reasonably expected from local prohibition are worth the effort.

The first answer to this query, so far as any sincere prohibitionist offers it, is that saloons will wreck many lives and many homes even in one place in one year, and will lower efficiency of workers at least ten per cent., and profits of honorable business at least as much, besides corrupting local politics for selfish ends.

A second answer is that it is more honorable for a town to become dry by its own choice than to be dragged into decency by State or national power.

A third reason why local prohibition is worth while is, that it is a good training school for national prohibition.

To the man who says sincerely, The wet areas beyond the town may be so easily reached by trolley and auto that it is useless to close the saloons in town, the answer is, that **reducing facilities to drink always reduces the drinking and its consequences**—even the closing of saloons in one village in a wet township, or one ward in a wet city. One of the most surprising facts developed by experiments with fractional prohibition is that saloon closing one day a week, Sunday, or one day or a few days in some emergency, greatly reduces drunkenness and crime. When Scotland closed saloons on Sunday only it reduced Sunday arrests seven-eighths. When the fuel crisis brought the United States in 1917 "heatless Mondays," with saloon closing, even Boston straightway found its police blotter without a blot. In the four heatless Mondays, Providence, R. I., had four arrests for drunkenness. From Mondays preceding show an average of ten arrests, that is 40 against 4. When saloons were closed for a short period at the time of the earthquake in San Francisco, the wonderful effect in reducing crime started a demand for prohibition that was seen in 1917 in a prohibition majority of the votes of the State outside of San Francisco. Sweden has the strongest prohibition sentiment of any country in Europe, partly because of the demonstration of its value when all barrooms were closed in 1909 on account of a general strike. Closing out the liquor selling in one building, the National Capitol, it was the testimony of Congressmen, diminished drinking and its consequences, even when Washington was a wet city with two bar rooms within a block. With that fact fresh in mind the writer accepted an invitation to go to Kingston, Canada, to argue for so small a boon as ward prohibition. If prohibition even for one building with less than a thousand men under its roof would reduce drunkenness, surely it was worth while for a city ward with more than a thousand homes.

License Makes it Easy to Drink, Hard to Abstain.

That is Jack London's simple explanation of his own drinking and the drinking of most others. Jack London was one of America's most brilliant

writers. He wrecked his life through drink, and died prematurely as a direct result of it. In a book entitled "John Barleycorn" he told frankly the story of his struggles and defeat. He insists very strongly in that book that his failure was not due to an appetite for liquor—he says he disliked the taste—**but to the fact that it was always easily accessible.** His conclusion is given in these forceful words:

"The way to stop drinking is to stop it. The way China stopped the general use of opium was by stopping the cultivation and importation of opium. The philosophers, priests and doctors of China could have preached themselves breathless against opium for a thousand years, and the use of opium, so long as opium was ever accessible and obtainable, would have continued unabated. We are so made, that is all. We have with great success made a practice of not leaving arsenic and strychnine, and typhoid and tuberculosis germs, lying around for our children to be destroyed by. Treat John Barleycorn the same way. Don't let him lie around, licensed and legal, to pounce upon our youth."

If legalized saloons are at hand, with attractive show windows and inviting open doors, a majority of the men of the vicinity patronize them, to the injury of their own health and character, and of the peace and good order of society. If saloons are closed, the majority quietly adapt themselves to the new situation, spend their time and money more wisely, and both they and their neighbors are better off. Few complain of the change; fewer still change their residence for that reason, and those that do are commercially and socially "good riddance." They carry abroad less money than they would be likely to draw later from the citizens as dependents, delinquents and defectives.

To the man who says, right in the thick of a local no-license fight, that the State Legislature ought not to have given a town a chance to choose wrong, but should have put prohibition on the whole State, the answer is that whatever mistake the legislature may have made, the prohibition issue is up locally, and it can not be wrong to vote "No" when the question is officially presented to citizens, "Shall saloons be licensed?" Indeed a citizen can not escape replying, for not to vote counts as "Yes," and may decide the issue.

One Vote May Decide.

Another thing should be "shown"—the responsibility of each voter, **whether his vote is likely to decide the result or not.** A MAN'S VOTE IS HIS SUPREME TESTIMONY AS A CITIZEN, and he is bound to give that testimony as much as to pray, and had better quit the mockery of praying if he does not vote. Daniel Webster, asked what was the greatest thought that ever passed through his mind, replied with solemnity, "THE THOUGHT OF MY INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY TO GOD." That should be the ruling thought at the election season, especially as one vote has many times determined the result. Oliver Cromwell was elected by one vote, and changed the history of the world. If one of the farmers who voted for him had staid with his hogs that day, this country might have been a Mexico ready to welcome the Kaiser to this Continent instead of taking a hand in driving him from the earth. Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President by a majority of one in the electoral commission, and Oliver Morton, Governor of Massachusetts, also by the same majority. New York State cast out gambling by the vote of Senator Foelker, brought in his sick

chair at the risk of his life to vote. But where could he have found a better place to die?

In Massachusetts more than a score of towns went "dry" by one vote, or "wet" for lack of one. The writer has been at a town where the people pointed at a prominent church and said, "There were enough voters in that church who did not vote to have saved us from having the saloons thrust back upon us."

"How did it happen?" asked a visitor to Riverside, California, when that town got back into the wet after being dry for many years. A David Harum of the town answered, "Four g's did it—the gamblers, the greasers, the galoots, and some of the good." "Some of the good" decide elections wrong by not voting at all.

You ask how I think the no-license election is going. I think IT MAY GO DRY BY ONE VOTE—YOURS, OR THE VOTE YOU MAY WIN, IF YOU WILL.

It should be said here for the sake of any who need the information, especially for Australasia, where a three-fourths vote is required on local prohibition (while one majority will elect a man to the highest office), that the benefits of prohibition come just the same in the United States when there is a majority of one as when it is a thousand. No one is a good citizen, he is not even a good sport, who does not accept in good faith the result of a contest, however close, whether athletic or political. The man who is mean enough to be a bootlegger will be one no matter how large the majority. And as for the law enforcement officer, if he would be a perjurer, trampling on his oath, under a small majority, he would perjure himself under a large majority. Some of the cities that have held to the no-license policy longest had a small majority at first. Cambridge, Massachusetts, seat of Harvard University, for example, dry by six majority the first time, has held to no-license a score of years without a single relapse.

That "some of the good" may not help to turn the scale wrong by voting Yes or by not voting at all for lack of the arguments we might bring them, let us who believe the license policy both wicked and foolish get the issue clear and hot in our own hearts, and with our heads and hands full of proofs, win over not only the doubtful, but also the opposed.

Keep National, State and Local Prohibition Unentangled.

At the threshold of our subject there is need of caution to **watch out against entangling four kinds of prohibition**, all of which are up this year, 1918, and all of them in some States up at the same time.

The aim of this brief is to present the case for no license, wholly separate from the arguments that are pertinent only to State or national prohibition. It is not pertinent to cite the working of State prohibition as an argument for or against town prohibition. The circumstances are quite different. Many local optionists are not State prohibitionists, and vice versa. Still more irrelevant in a local option campaign are arguments for or against national prohibition. And arguments for emergency war prohibition do not necessarily apply to any prohibition intended to outlast the war. On the other hand even if the National Government, by enacting war prohibition or by establishing a moral zone, has closed the local saloons for the period of the

war, the citizens should **vote no license lest the conclusion of the war should reopen saloons when industrial reconstruction makes saloon closing supremely** important.

Do Not Claim Too Much for No License.

No license means exactly what it says. It does not mean, "No liquors." The sale of liquors for medical, sacramental and industrial purposes is not involved. Some may wish that it were, but the local referendum usually relates only to intoxicating beverages. It would be absured to assume that a vote for no license will bring absolute cessation at once even of the beverage use of alcohol. There is nothing to prevent drinkers laying in a stock before no license takes effect. And after that time there will still be some violations of this prohibition, just as there is of every other prohibition, else we should need no police or courts or jails.

When the people vote to refuse liquor licenses they take away from liquor sellers all the advantages that go with a legal business, and put them into the same class as counterfeiters, burglars, body-snatchers, gunmen, gamblers and prostitutes. Under faithful executive officers none of these outlawed trades can do a tithe of the business it could do if legalized. Real estate dealers and advertising agents are all wrong if a man can "sell as much" from a "hole in the wall" down some blind alley, with the necessity of hiding his location instead of advertising it, as if he had a store with attractive show windows in the public square, and a page ad daily in the press.

Let no one refuse to vote because there are "blind tigers" in some no license towns. If you as a father must choose for the sake of your children, in a case of real tigers, would you be more afraid of a "blind tiger" down some obscure alley, that bit no one who did not go there to be bitten, or of **a hundred tigers with their eyes wide open on the principal streets under police protection, seeking whom they might devour?** There need be no "blind tigers" in a no license town if even one citizen will use the prohibition sword which the law has provided to kill him.

No License Banishes the Promoters of Drinking.

The greatest benefit of no licnese is that it bars from local business the men would otherwise make their living by inducing other people to drink. NO LICENSE REMOVES THESE PROMOTERS OF DRINKING. NOT MUCH OF ANYTHING, GOOD OR BAD, IS DONE WITHOUT PROMOTERS. NEARLY ALL LAWS AGAINST VICE ARE DIRECTED, NOT AGAINST THE CASUAL INDIVIDUAL OFFENDER, BUT AGAINST THE PROMOTERS OF VICE—THE PERSONS WHO MAKE IT THEIR BUSINESS TO INDUCE OTHERS TO GAMBLE, TO DRINK, TO PROSTITUTE THEIR VIRTUE.

WHEN COMMERCIALIZED VICE IS LEGALIZED IT IS INEVITABLY LINKED UP IN AN UNHOLY LEAGUE WITH COMMERCIALIZED POLITICS, FOR IF LIQUOR DEALERS OR GAMBLERS OR PROSTITUTES MUST HAVE AN ANNUAL LICENSE THEY WILL NECESSARILY SEEK TO CONTROL POLITICS EVERY YEAR. THE SUPREME PURPOSE OF NO LICENSE IS TO BREAK UP THAT UNHOLY LEAGUE OF VICES AND POLITICIANS, FOR THE LICENSED SALOONS' CORRUPTION OF POLITICS IS A GREATER INJURY THAN EVEN THE HARM IT DOES TO THE

DRINKER IN BODY AND SOUL, AND TO THE HOME AND TO BUSINESS.

The Arguments for No License in Brief.

The three chief arguments for no license are: first, the saloon is the despoiler of the home; second, the saloon is the enemy of verey honest business; third and greatest—the patriotic argument—the saloon is the enemy of true democracy and civil liberty—a secret autocracy, whose aims are personal, selfish, sensual, devilish.

Manifestly, the attitude of the Sovereign People toward such a piratical trade should be not one of sanction but of hostility, regardless of whether it can be fully destroyed. It will be easier to educate the people to destroy it when it has been branded by the people's ballots as an enemy of society.

All we can fairly be required to prove as a reason why citizens should vote no license is: first, that the liquor traffic, as found in real life, is harmful; second, that no license reduces the harm much more than the so-called "restrictions" of the alternative license system.

The Only Good Element in License Laws.

Every license law has some prohibition in it, and is "so far, so good." Usually a license law prohibits selling liquor on Sundays, and in many cases on holidays—because liquor and leisure never meet but for mischief. Usually there are prohibitions of selling before and after certain hours each day; prohibition also of selling to minors and to drunkards. But these partial prohibitions do little good, partly because it is very difficult to watch the conduct of a multitude of saloons. Those who manage them, as we shall show, habitually disregard the restrictions written in the laws. Furthermore, when a majority of the citizens of a town vote to license saloons, that majority cares very little whether the restrictions are enforced. They are put into the law mainly to win the votes of "some of the good" with the idea that the evils of the saloon are to be reduced to their lowest terms. It would very much shock some pious license voters if they were asked to vote, not for the theoretic saloon as described in the law, but for the real American saloon and bar room as described by character witnesses "we shall now call."

The Liquor Business Painted by Itself.

We will first quote the damning confessions that saloonists themselves have uttered when "reform waves" have made the devil so seasick that he thought he would die, and at such hours "the devil a monk would be." In those sick moments, liquor sellers, and especially liquor papers, often preach plainly to their fellows of their mutual sins, and urge repentence to save the trade from the wrath to come.

We subjoin a few of these saloon portraits painted by themselves as unbiased proof that the saloons are not fit to live. They have not heeded these urgent calls from their own leaders to reform. "The Model License League" has been sending out its prospectus for many years, but has no line of samples to show. The writer has courteously asked its President, Mr. T. M. Gilmore, to name even a score of saloons in the whole country with a clean record, and although Mr. Gilmore has answered other letters, no reply comes to this request to be "shown" some results from the numerous specific efforts of liquor associations to clean house. THE SALOON CAN NOT BE MENDED, AND SO SHOULD BE ENDED.

Americans Treat Wine, Whiskey and Beer as Brothers.

Before quoting the saloon portraits by its own hand, it should be noted mainly for the benefit of foreign readers that when Americans (except Hearst "Americans") speak of "saloons" or "Drink" or "Booze," they include all the Booze Brothers (we name by seniority), Wine, Whiskey, and Beer. Saloonists and prohibitionists alike in the United States are accustomed to speak of the liquor traffic with no distinction between drinks that stand together behind the bar and on the bar, and work the same sort of mischief in front of the bar. Americans reached in 1836 the point Europe seems unlikely to reach before 1936, that alcohol whether in whiskey, wine, or beer, will do the same deadly and devilish work. There is about the same amount of alcohol, one and one-fourth ounces, in three ounces of 42% whiskey, one half pint of 16% wine, one pint of 8% ale, or three pints of 3 per cent war beer.

It is not alone the alcohol but also the saloon atmosphere of profanity, impurity and anarchy, that is considered both in the confessions of the friends of the saloon and the condemnations of its foes. The saloon is the nest where all evil birds flock together.

Liquor Papers At the Confessional .

The New York Wine and Spirit Gazette, August 25, 1902, said, editorially: "The saloon as conducted is a nuisance and a loafing place for the idle and vicious. It is generally on a prominent street and is usually run by a sport who cares only for the almighty dollar. From this resort the drunken man starts reeling home. At this resort the local fights are indulged in. It is a stench in the nostrils of society and a disgrace to the wine and spirit trade."

Here is a similar portrait of the saloon by itself that appeared in the Wholesalers and Retailers' Review, San Francisco, September, 1907: "Any man who knows the saloon well can honestly say that most of them have forfeited their right to live. The model saloon exists chiefly in the minds of the editors of liquor journals, in the imaginations of a certain type of ministers, and in the mythical stories sometimes rehearsed at saloonmen's campfires. Unfortunately the average tippling house is a place of ill fame, a place of debauchery. With comparatively few exceptions, our saloons are houses of drunken men, profanity and obscenity of the vilest possible type."

The Champion of Fair Play, Chicago, June 7, 1902, gives this picture of the saloon in an appeal for members made by the Liquor Dealers' State Protective Association: "The laws of this state governing the liquor trade are so severe that there is not a licensed saloon keeper in Illinois that does not lay himself liable to prosecution under the law a dozn times a day." (The Champion in 1918 showed that in Illinois the U. S. Government collects a tax from 22,149 "retail liquor dealers"—while the several municipalities throughout the state licensed only 11,013 retail liquor dealers, showing that more than one-half (11,136) are selling illegally.)

The Brewer's Journal, September, 1916, openly declared the contempt of the liquor dealers for laws: "'A perfect stranger' writes three long columns in the Detroit 'Saturday Night' to show that saloons are open in Detroit on Sundays. [This was before prohibition came.] What a waste of time, paper, and ink! Everybody knows that in our large American cities, the centers of learning, industry, finance, fashion and intelligence, the inhabitants care not for 'laws' made by time-serving politicians, at the behest

of economically and intellectually limited theologians and their few and misled followers!"

The Brewers' Journal, July, 1918, makes a surprisingly frank admission of the "barefaced" violations of law by saloons selling intoxicants to our fighting men that lie back of the orders of Secretary Daniels establishing five-mile dry zones around naval stations in Newport, Annapolis, and other places, and similar zones established for like reasons about Army camps, which was done in each case only after vain appeals of the government to the saloons to co-operate patriotically with the Government in preventing illegal sales of liquors to men in uniform. (See p. 21.)

The Liquor Dealers' Defense.

It should be said frankly that liquor advocates plead in abatement of these confessions that it should be remembered there are "bad men in all professions and occupations"—bad preachers, as well as good; bad doctors, bad lawyers, bad bankers. But let them show some recognized organ of these callings, or some leaders among them that speak of their whole tribe as the liquor leaders we have quoted speak of their business. In no other legalized occupation do its leaders admit that lawbreaking is the rule—not merely the exception. Some liquor men urge that some saloons are no worse than this "club" or that; which does not help the case, for many clubs are only camouflaged saloons, established for drinking at hours when saloons are closed.

More States Evidence.

It would seem that no further evidence is necessary when so many saloonists have admitted the habitual guilt of the trade. But because the drink habit in some persons, and drink revenue and profits in the case of others, blinds the reason, we shall add further testimony from saloonists and others, enough to convince every doubter who will read the proofs with open mind.

An amazing confession bearing on the menace of drink to industrial efficiency, published in Brewers' Journal, March, 1918, pp. 182-3, in staff correspondence from Continental Europe, is as follows:

"The government committee on manual labor in France recently reported that the question of alcoholism is becoming of almost vital importance, as reliable reports indicate that a large percentage of absence from work is due to the use of intoxicating liquor; that in the coal mines, at the time the report was submitted, absences amounted to 13 or 14 per cent. of possible days of labor, and that this was largely due to intemperance. It is estimated that coal production is decreased for this reason alone by 5 per cent. It is said, 'The day that liquor traffic is regulated in mining centers then will the question of absence from work be solved.' There is not an industry which has not been compelled to report the effects of liquor drinking on production. 'Women seem to be particularly affected. Brought into new surroundings, and influenced by unaccustomed conditions, they more readily fall into temptations.' Recognizing the menace to national industry, the State has attempted, through orders issued by local and military authority, to interdict the sale of alcohol in various districts. The restrictions so ordered have in some cases met with such strong protest that important modifications permitting the sale in determined hours only have been made. Certain commanding generals have issued orders forbidding the sale to mobilized

laborers, women, and colonial and foreign laborers. The use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is a cause of deep concern with the War Office. The minister of munitions addressing the labor controllers said, 'While there is no penalty provided by law which seems efficacious against the pernicious influence of places where liquors are dispensed, yet the state of war provides measures which no one in authority should hesitate to employ, i. e., the closing of such places as are convicted of contravention.' The controllers are required to report to the minister all cases where abuse is noticed, and to call upon military authority to immediately close the offending selling place."

Wholesalers of Liquors as Bad as Saloons.

Sometimes local option laws give a town no control over the local manufacture and wholesaling of liquors, but when they do, distillers, brewers and wholesalers should go with the saloons into the discard as no whit better than the retailers, despite their wealth and fine houses. The evidence shows them to be wholesale lawbreakers.

That the big brewers, for example, are no better than the saloons, which they mostly own, was proved when in response to decoy letters from President Samuel Dickie, the five chief brewers of Milwaukee all wrote letters saying they would ship beer in disguise to unlicensed and lawbreaking dealers in "dry" territory.

Speaking before the eighth annual convention of the Wisconsin Retail Liquor Dealers' Protective Association, in July, 1913, P. H. Nolan, national organizer of that body, bitterly assailed the brewers as lawbreakers in these and other frank words: "I say that the brewers of this State have for years sold their goods to unlicensed and disreputable resorts. They have injured the business of men who try to conduct it according to law." (Mr. Arthur Burrage Farwell, president of Chicago Law and Order League, in a letter dated July 31, 1913, said: "In 1911 we investigated ten of the worst saloons in one of the red light districts of Chicago and found in every instance that the bondsmen were brewers or their employees.")

The American Brewer, May, 1907, said: "Practically all the fixtures of every saloon in Kansas [a prohibition state] are owned by the brewers [outside of Kansas] which also owns a large amount of real estate used for saloon purposes."

The Brewers even cite this persistent lawlessness of theirs and their local pals and agents as a reason why lawless speakeasies should be legalized. It is rather the chief reason why the whole business should be banished from the earth as hopelessly lawless.

Adolph Keitel, malster, of 18 Broadway, New York, in 1914, sent out a circular letter to the brewing trade. It was meant to boost the business of beer and tell brewers how they could keep their business in operation longer than ten years. As a statement of things as they are we do not know its equal for frankness from any liquor source. We need to keep in mind as we read that this is from no prohibition advocate, but from a malster and a man who would make breweries and beer a permanent part of American life. We print the most pertinent parts of the letter with capitalizations and black-faced type just as they occur in the original. Mr. Keitel, speaking to the brewers, says:

"Judging from what information I have been able to gather during the past four or five weeks, I predict that, unless there is a radical change in the disgraceful manner in which the liquor traffic is conducted today, **the fast growing prohibition and woman suffrage movement will strike the death-blow to your industry and that WITHIN TEN YEARS FROM NOW NO BREWERIES WILL BE IN OPERATION, EXCEPT IN A VERY FEW LARGE CITIES.**

"There is no denying the fact that your 'friends,' the malting interests, stirred up the 'hornet's nest' when, a few years ago, they sent a representative to Washington, disguised as a farmer, to prove to the pure food branch of the Department of Agriculture that **the product of many breweries has, by the use of substitutes, drugs and chemicals, been adulterated to such an extent that it has become a menace to the health of the public.**

"HOW CAN YOU EXPECT TO FIGHT YOUR ENEMIES SUCCESSFULLY AS LONG AS YOU HAVE THE IDEA THAT YOU CAN FOOL THE PEOPLE?

"Is it not a notorious fact that a number of those very breweries who have in the recent past claimed through public speeches and through the press that they have mended their ways by shutting down on disreputable and disorderly places, are the gratest offenders, and continue, without asking any question, to deliver their product daily to houses of prostitution and other dives—in fact, to anybody who has the price?

"Is it not a fact that many hotels and other property owned by brewers are run, **with their knowledge,** for disorderly purposes?

"I can cite instances where **representatives of breweries or managers of their branches were not only openly abetting, but actually operated themselves, houses of prostitution, and were even engaged in white slave traffic.** I can also cite instances where breweries and individuals connected with breweries have operated gambling houses, and other instances where **notorious gamblers are the principal owners of breweries.**

"Two Sundays ago I had occasion to make a call on some one residing in a block known as one of the most exclusive residential districts in this city. The only eyesore in the block is the side entrance to a large saloon. **My attention was called to the stream of drunken hoodlums, as well as unescorted dissolute women, who were constantly entering or leaving the place.**

"RESPECTABLE CITIZENS BELIEVE, AND JUSTLY SO, THAT THE BREWER WHOSE SIGN IS DISPLAYED PROMINENTLY IN FRONT OF THE DIVES, AND WHO FREQUENTLY OWNS THE PROPERTY, IS THE REAL OFFENDER.

"There is just one way open for you to successfully fight the situation: **COMPLY WITH THE LAW AND MAKE ALL YOUR CUSTOMERS COMPLY WITH THE LAW.** Close up their saloons by refusing to further supply them with beer, if they do not heed your first warning. **WOULD NOT A SLIGHT DECREASE IN YOUR ANNUAL BEER SALES BE INFINITELY BETTER THAN TO BE DRIVEN OUT OF BUSINESS AND LOSING YOUR ENTIRE INVESTMENT?**

"When a new customer comes to you, change your first question, 'How much beer do you sell?' to **'WHAT KIND OF A PLACE DO YOU RUN?'**

"I want to help you all I can to elevate your great industry to such an extent that you will gain the respect of the community, such as brewers enjoy in European countries."

The foregoing quotations are all portraits of the saloon by itself—like a Rembrandt by Rembrandt—or it would be fitting to quote the ignorant word of a "quick-rich" woman—by "Remnants."

We will call yet another liquor witness, The Wholesale Liquor Business impersonated as a single offender. Let us cross-question the witness:

Prosecutor. You are accustomed to say, "Prohibition don't prohibit." Do you mean by that that when the people of a city or State, by the regular processes of democracy, for which the best nations in the world are fighting, have regularly prohibited the sale of liquors, the Wholesale Liquor Business persistently ship liquors to lawbreaking speakeasies and bootleggers of those places?

Wholesale Liquor Business. We ship liquors to anybody who will pay for the goods if there is any way to get them there.

Prosecutor. Are there any brewers or distillers or wholesale liquor sellers that refuse to ship liquors to unlicensed dealers?

Wholesale Liquor Business. None.

Prosecutor. Then the common talk about the liquors sold in "dry" places being of a different and worse quality than those sold in license states is false.

Wholesale Liquor Business. We sell the same kinds and all kinds in dry places as in wet.

Prosecutor. In Maine you argued for local option as against States prohibition because each town, you said, should decide for itself; but in Massachusetts did you respect the "home rule" decisions made in no license votes, and refuse to sell to unlicensed dealers in dry towns?

Wholesale Liquor Business. We sold to anybody who would buy, law or no law.

Prosecutor. Then I charge that you are an anarchist, a traitor to the fundamental principle of democracy, majority rule; and that every red-blooded patriot should vote you off the earth, not alone, because you poison the individual and ruin the home and disturb the city, but most of all because of your habitual lawlessness, which is a fundamental crime against civilization. The citizen of no license towns pusilanimously permit you to sell because you come at them with a threat and a bribe. "We will sell anyway," you say, "and you might as well take our license fee and make the best of it." Those who surrender to your threat and bribe, though opposed to the Drink, are commercialized cowards, unfit to live in this day of heroism, when men are dying to defend law against those who regard all law, divine and human, as but "a scrap of paper."

The foregoing impersonation is no imaginary picture; *e. g.,* Boston's wholesale liquor business, which is the senior anarchist of the liquor trade, has associated with speakeasies nearly three score years and ten. It is doomed to die before it reaches that age by federal execution unless Boston or Massachusetts can be roused to honor itself by striking down this defiant lawbreaker before national constitutional prohibition is accomplished.

In 1916-17, Henry N. Pringle, Assistant Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, investigated, with the aid of the detectives, the speakeasy trade

of Boston's wholesale liquor dealers, including brewers and distillers. In the chart are shown in circles the towns and the number of speak-easies in each to which these "respectable" liquor dealers shipped liquors by illegal pony expresses, whose crimes are shown in photographs.

One of many incidents showing how dry towns are invaded by liquor interests was brought out in a letter from Duluth to Senator Nelson, which was turned over to Senator Lenroot and by the latter read to the U. S. Senate on August 29, 1918:

"As you well know, Duluth went dry a year ago this month and I can not tell you how well pleased we were, and how clean our city has been ever since. Our trouble then started when Superior would go dry, and thank the Lord it did go dry on July 1, 1918. Then came one or two liquor dealers and organized the township of Oliver, in Wisconsin, and got a few voters in there in order to vote for the license and defy the State of Wisconsin, as well as the State of Minnesota, in giving licenses to one retail liquor dealer and seven wholesale houses. These seven wholesale liquor houses do in reality a retail business, for they sell from one pint to a gallon of liquor. I visited this place about three weeks ago. I found that the one saloon was a very large building, jammed to the door, with eight or ten bartenders, with men struggling to the bar to get a drink, and several busses running from the steel plant to the village and the saloon. The seven wholesale liquor houses were not permitted to engage in business as a saloon, but regarding it as a wholesale liquor business were selling beer in pint bottles and whiskey in half-pint bottles. That is a condition that we have within the very short distance of plants engaged in war work employing several thousand men."

A special resolution was passed unanimously in Congress to enable the Secretary of War to suppress this robber den of drink because munition work was hindered, but there are many such lawless barrooms preying on soldiers and citizens both in violation of dry laws and under permission of lawless license laws, and only nation-wide prohibition can stamp them out fully.

Not alone the liquor dealers but city and even State officials are involved in the guilt of this headquarters of lawlessness—Boston citizens also so far as they have not voted to banish these lawbreakers. This picture of Boston as a tolerated crime-center reminds us of the robbers' den in Lorna Doone, and the robber chief bringing home a girl strapped like a rabit to his saddle. Thousands of boys and girls has Boston destroyed, not alone by legalized sales of liquors in the city, but also by Boston's lawless traffic all over New England.

Let no one fear we are admitting too much when we point out the speak-easies in dry towns, partly to arouse sleeping citizens, but chiefly in this case to show that the liquor business, from brewer to bootlegger, is an anarchist and so not fit to live.

How Prohibition Prohibits.

As to the saying, "Prohibition don't prohibit," it is self-evident liquor dealers would be profoundly still about it if it were so, as in that case they could save their license fees with no loss of trade. The liquor magazines are full of alarmed declarations of the effectiveness of prohibition in all its forms in reducing their trade where it is in force. The only weight the saying "Prohibition don't prohibit" has is due to the assumption of the liquor

people, which some good but unthinking people accept, that the prohibition of the liquor traffic, unlike the prohibition of murder, theft, false witness, and embezzlement, is a failure if it does not instantly annihilate the evil at which it is aimed. Like all other prohibitions from Eden down to the present, liquor prohibition is violated. But **like all prohibitions of real evils it is a success in that it outlaws a wrong and reduces it.**

To prove that the per capita liquor consumption in the country at large has not decreased in proportion to the increase of prohibition areas does not prove the ineffectiveness of prohibition in its own areas. The increase is in wet areas, chiefly in our big wet cities, with their millions of foreign workingmen, whose higher wages and shorter hours naturally result in greatly increased drinking.

Only Partial Prohibition Possible Before the "Bone Dry" Era.

"We have hurt our cause by creating expectations that are not likely to be realized under the limitations of local option, especially in these days of easy transit from dry to wet areas by trolley and auto. There should be no hesitation in saying that no reasonable man ever expected prohibition of any kind, previous to the "bone dry" era, would stop all consumption of alcoholic beverages in dry territory. Down to 1917, it was legal, under the Supreme Court interpretation of interstate commerce rights, for any one in dry territory to import liquors "for personal use" in spite of anything State or town might vote. That accounted for much consumption in dry places within the law, and made it all too easy to sell on the sly some of the liquor so imported.

But even the figures published in liquor papers as to liquors sent into dry territory, the writer has shown elsewhere (see p. 5), prove liquor consumption in dry territory to be less than a tithe of the consumption in wet territory. In the case of local prohibition we can not reasonably expect so great a reduction.

It is pertinent to quote here the frank statement of an inspector in Kavai, Hawaii, when a very weak form of no license forbade only the retail sale. Wholesalers might both sell and solicit on their premises, and deliver but not solicit elsewhere. This is what he said:

"Anybody who really wanted liquor could get it. But there was very little drunkenness. **People had to seek the liquor instead of the liquor seeking them. The demand was not artificially stimulated and increased.** There was enough danger in the illicit business to keep it down to moderate limits. There was not enough money in it to make it a factor in politics. In those days, as near as can be estimated, there was about $40,000 a year spent in liquor on this island, as against $260,000 that we know of during last year (under full license)."

Why Many Drinking Men Would Prohibit Saloons.

In a concert hall in the city of Buffalo, Kipling saw two young men get two young girls drunk and then lead them reeling down a dark street. Mr. Kipling has not been a total abstainer nor have his writings commended temperance, but of that scene he writes: "Then recanting previous opinions, I became a prohibitionist. Better it is that a man should go without his beer in public places, and content himself with swearing at the narrow-mindedness of the majority; better it is to poison the inside with very vile temperance drinks, and to buy lager furtively at back doors, than to bring temptation to the lips of young fools such as the four I had seen. I understand now why the preachers rage against drink.

I have said: 'There is no harm in it, taken moderately;' and yet my own demand for beer helped directly to send these two girls reeling down the dark street to—God alone knows what end. If liquor is worth drinking, it is worth taking a little trouble to come at—such as a man will undergo to compass his own desires. It is not good that we should let it lie before the eyes of children, and I have been a fool in writing to the contrary."

The reduction of arrests by a change from wet to dry is usually about two-thirds. If drink and its consequences are reduced one-third, it is well worth while, and so much is possible in a dry town even though it is morally an island with wet environments on every side.

Anti-Alcohol Campaign Should Follow Anti-Saloon Campaign.

It might be nine-tenths if the "anti-saloon campaign" were vigorously followed up, as Miss Willard suggested, with "an anti-alcohol campaign."

Even while a local option campaign is on, and still more when victory is won, there is a feeling of disappointment on the part of some temperance radicals and even of some merchants who desire to turn to their own useful traffics the money that is worse than wasted in drink shops, because local option usually does not, either in theory or practice, stop all the purchasing of intoxicants.

It should be distinctly recognized that THERE ARE TWO CAMPAIGNS TO BE FOUGHT: THE FIRST FOR THE ABOLITION BY LAW OF LOCAL INCICTMENTS TO DRINK, THAT IS, OF ALL LIQUOR SELLING; THE SECOND, FOR THE INCREASE OF PERSONAL ABSTINENCE, WHICH IS TO BE SECURED BY ARGUMENT. When law has made it harder to drink and easier to abstain, we should "seize the hour" to press the total abstinence argument, not only for the general good of the individual and the community, but also to fortify and maintain no license, which is very likely to be lost at a subsequent election if the waste of money in drink has not been materially diminished, for in that case it means the purchases and profit are transferred to the next town. It is a supreme mistake for temperance forces to relax their campaigning when no license has been voted. It is like the mistake of saying, "The sermon is done," when it is only preached and has not yet been "done" in real life. The no license law needs a campaign of education not only to secure its enactment but also its faithful enforcement; and still more to insure its continuance; and most of all to secure the general abstinence which is the final goal to which science and religion and patriotism all summon us.

Testimony of Labor Leaders.

From this comment on the liquor sellers testimony we return to our waiting witnesses. Next to the testimony of the leaders of those who sell the liquors, the testimony of the leaders of those who do the major part of the buying and drinking—the workingmen—should be most significant. First, we call John Mitchell, who showed himself the real chief of American labor, who ever may bear the title, when he more than held his own in the coal arbitration ordered by President Roosevelt, though the masters of capitalism were pitted against him. At this writing he is Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. Hear him:

"I have no sympathy with the statement, so often made, that the manufacture and sale of liquor has contributed to the industrial development of the nation. On the contrary, I believe that liquor has contributed more to the moral, intellectual and material deterioration of the people, and has brought more misery to defenseless women and children than has any other agency to the history of mankind. The man who drinks to excess is not regarded by his employer as the proper person to hold a responsible position. A strong man is controlled by this appetite as well as a weak one. The men who think they can take a drink and then stop, end as drunkards. I am against

the saloons because they are against my people, and I am more than willing to antagonize them. On pay day the saloonkeepers are like tigers. My men enter their resorts with their wages, and often leave with nothing, and then it falls on the wife to pacify the storekeeper on the non-payment of the bills, and the family is left pracitcally destitute."

The three following labor leaders are quoted by the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League:

John W. Kline, President International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers: "The devil never established a business that is more deceptive than the saloon business. The bar-room is a recruiting station for every form of evil. The brain, befuddled with booze, disqualifies a man for transacting business. Bar-room demagogues have caused the loss of life, property and public confidence, and many times have brought defeat to the cause of labor."

R. F. Travelick, President of National Eight-Hour League: "The use of liquor and its influences have done more to darken labor's homes, dwarf its energies and chain it hand and foot to the wheels of corporate aggression than all other influences combined."

James Simpson, Delegate American Federation of Labor: "Labor leaders are alive to the menace that the saloon is to the progress of workingmen. When the Toronto Labor Temple was founded a clause was put in its constitution totally excluding intoxicating liquor from the premises."

Next we call one who for many years was the treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. John B. Lennon:

"Organized Labor stands for compulsory education, but the saloon stands for ignorance and degradation. The purpose of the trade Union is to raise the standard of living. What about the saloon? Is there a man who will dare to say there is any influence of the saloon except to lower this standard and make men less manly and women less womanly? I do not know a solitary principle for which the labor movement stands but that the saloon is on the other side of the question. Who can deny that the liquor traffic is driving men and women to work in factories, workshops, and washtubs who ought not to be there, and boys and girls into industrial life who should be in the school or on the playground? The liquor traffic tends to decrease wages, never to increase them. The use of alcohol makes men less skilful and drives men to lower scales of employment and reward. Every cent spent in the liquor business is wasted. There is no redeeming feature in the saloon. Go anywhere where its influence is felt and you see the demoralization it brings. We are fighting for social well-being, civic benefit and moral uplift. Never a foul plot is organized to injure public rights and social wellbeing but the saloon is used for the job. I have been criticized for my fight against the saloon, but I give notice here and now that I will fight the traffic as long as there is a saloon left."

Let us also hear one who has put more idealism into labor reform than its rank and file can yet appreciate, Hon. Terence V. Powderly, ex-Grand Master Workman, Knights of Labor:

"I know I am right. I know that, in refusing to even touch a drop of strong drink, I was and am right. In refusing to treat another to that which I do not believe to be good for myself to drink, I know that I am right. In not allowing a rumseller to gain admittance into the order of the Knights of Labor, I know I am right. In advising our assemblies not to rent halls or meeting-rooms over drinking places, I know that I am right. I have done this from the day my voice was first heard in the council halls of our order. My position on the question of temperance is right. I am determined to maintain it, and will not alter it one jot or tittle. I know that in the organization of which I am the heard there are many good men who drink, but they would be better men if they did not drink. What have the saloons ever done for humanity? How many souls have they saved? How many people have they clothed, except the saloon-keeper's family? When the men have a strike, the saloon-keeper often contributes more than the dry goods man, but he robs them of more. I never knew one of them to give a cent that he did not expect a dollar in return. The liquor traffic is responsible for nine-tenths of the miseries among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing that could come to them."

These testimonies of labor leaders more than offset the championship of the saloon by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who himself tells us twice over that he has no mandate from the Federation to speak against prohibition.* P. M. Arthur, when Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said: "If I could I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth." W. D. Ryan, when Illinois Secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, said: "If laboring men would abstain from liquor they would free themselves from 90 per cent. of their hardship." John Burns, member of the British Parliament, united with 139 other labor leaders in 1893 in saying: "The destruction of the poor is their poverty, and the present licensing system is the chief cause of the present-time poverty, debasement, and weakness of the poor."

The President of the National Temperance Federation of England said in 1918: "It is very encouraging to know that *the* [*British*] *Labor Party is in favor of giving the people the power to determine by their votes in every locality whether the common sale of intoxicating drinks shall be permitted or not, and that many of the most influential members of the party are in favor of national prohibition, at least during the war and demobilization.*"

This is the voice of that British Labor Union of manual and intellectual workers that have excelled both Lloyd George and President Wilson in presenting a practical detailed scheme of the new world of fraternal democracies that should be realized through the world war.

"Workingmen may talk of the robberies by the trusts, but the trusts take the cash and leave the man. *Liquor takes the cash, and takes the man.* It robs the pocket of dimes and dollars; it robs the heart of love, the brain of intelligence, and the conscience of honor. It steals the health, and weakens the will, and blackens the reputation, and blasts the hope of the man. **We can liken a working man weighted down with the drink habit to nothing so much as an animal dragging himself along whose back has been broken by a wagon wheel. How can such men, crippled as they must be in intelligence and morals and self-control, form effective labor unions? How, with their earnings gone into the brewer's dividends, can they outstand capital in a long siege?**"

What Roman Catholic Leaders Say of Liquor Traffic.

As the majority of saloon patrons in the United States are of foreign birth or ancestry, they are naturally found to a larger extent in the Catholic Church than in any other. Its people are mostly from countries to which "the arrest of thought has not come" as to the harmfulness of the drink traffic and the drink habit. Roman Catholic pastors therefore are expert witnesses as to the influence of the saloon upon its patrons. Some few of the Catholic prelates have come out in opposition to state and national prohibition, but the testimony of most of its leaders, lay and clerical, is that the saloon, the barroom, the liquor traffic, is a harmful institution, and should be suppressed by law wherever public sentiment is intelligent enough to do it. Note that it is not whiskey or any particular intoxicant which they condemn, but demand suppression of the whole liquor traffic.

Third Council of Baltimore, 1884: We call upon all pastors to induce those of their flocks that may be engaged in the sale of liquors to quit the dangerous traffic as soon as possible, and to make their living in some more honorable way.

Cardinal Manning: The drink traffic is a public, permanent, and ubiquitous agency of degradation. The drink trade is our shame, scandal, and sin, and

* See pp. 35-37 for full discussion of his efforts in defense of saloons.

unless brought under by the will of the people, it will be our downfall. * * * Do you know how you will help to break up the unholy alliance between Government and the greatest fraud of the age? Vote against it.

Archbishop Ireland: Education, the elevation of the masses, liberty, all that the age admires—is set at naught by this dreadful evil. The individual conscience is the first arm in opposing it, but the individual conscience has to be strengthened and supplemented by law. The claim of saloon keepers to freedom in their traffic is the claim to spread disease, sin, and pauperism. Would God place in my hand a wand with which to dispel the evil of intemperance, I would strike the door of every saloon, every distillery, of every brewery, until the accursed traffic should be wiped from the face of the earth.

Archbishop John J. Keane: If I could cause the earth to open and swallow up every saloon in the world, I would feel that I was doing humanity a blessing. The saloon is bad for the home, the church and the country. It has no redeeming feature. No wonder the bishops of the Third Council of Baltimore anathematized it. And if any man praise it, if any man countenance or encourage it, does he not deserve to share in the anathema?

Archbishop Spaulding: Whatever restrictions may be thrown around its management, the American saloon is and must continue to be so long as it shall be tolerated, a nuisance. To license is in a way to approve, and a wise and good man can not approve the liquor traffic. As to the right of the State to prohibit, there can be no question, since the right to suppress crime involves the right to suppress its chief cause.

Archbishop Gross: The saloons in all English-speaking countrieshave become hell holes of iniquity. Not being able to improve them, I would stamp them out entirely.

Archbishop Bruchesi: All agree that alcohol is a poison, and one which kills. Why then should we have establishments where such poison is dispensed to the public? There is absolutely no reason for a single barroom in Montreal.

Bishop Loras, 1855: "We request you also, sir, for the interest of our holy religion and for the temporal and eternal welfare of our Catholic people, for whom you will have to answer at the bar of the tribunal of God, to use publicly and privately all arguments in your power to persuade them to vote on the first Monday of next April in favor of the Iowa Liquor Law."

Bishop A. P. Doyle: **The saloon has become the germ centre of lawlessness. While it debauches some of the people with drunkenness, and takes from them the knowldege necessary for an intelligent ballot, it snaps its fingers at the law made for its restriction. It has become an unscrupulous and conscienceless tyrant of American politics.**

Bishop Conaty: Where saloons are licensed, how many live up to the law? Not one. Vested rights! Has the community no rights? There is no reason for the existence of saloons. Blot them all out and what harm?

Father O'Callaghan: The Church is against the saloon. The saloon is against the Church.

Father F. A. Cunningham: What is the duty of every Catholic voter this year? Can he conscientiously cast his vote for the support of a license condemned by the Councils, prelates and supreme pontiff of his church? How can he dare to walk deliberately to the voting place and sign the deed which shall deliver his city into the hands of her enemies? No Catholic should vote or influence a vote for license. In doing so he would be false to the spirit of his

church—he would be a scandal to a non-Catholic who might point to him as a product of Catholic education—he would act the part of a Benedict Arnold in signing the betrayal of his city.

Father George Zurcher, President Catholic Prohibition League: Instead of being licensed, the alcoholic business, like any other pestilence, ought to be quarantined. Entrenched behind appetite, tradition, habit and law, this great fraud of the ages has dared to proclaim itself the guardian of personal liberty; but the mask no longer conceals this cruel vampire which has sucked every moral issue from our politics—municipal, State and national.

Father Walter Shanley: The liquor traffic is the appalling disgrace of the English-speaking countries. We should be outspoken and fearless in demanding legislation which will bring about its total extinction.

Father Jos. McNamee: Some are trying to keep men away from the saloon; I am with those who are going to keep the saloon away from every man, woman and child.

Father Mathew: The principle of Prohibition seems to me the only safe and certain remedy for the evils of intemperance. This opinion has been strengthened by the hard labor of more than twenty years in the Temperance cause.

Mr. John F. Cunneen: As a Roman Catholic I appeal to Roman Catholics to stand solidly united with their Protestant brethren in this warfare against the saloon. How can any Catholic go to the polls and vote to continue men in the liquor traffic when his church calls upon them to get out?

Mr. J. T. O'Shea: If by sacrificing my life I could close the saloons of America for even one day, I would gladly make the offering at any time.

Father Stafford (to Canadian parliamentary committee appointed in 1874 to inquire into the causes of intemperance): To license the liquor traffic is to give permission to the greatest enemy of the human race to live and grow fat on the tears, the lives and the eternal souls of our people. Stop the traffic, make the manufacture, the importation and sale of intoxicating liquors a crime of the worst kind.

What of Cardinal Gibbons?

After such a group of Roman Catholic witnesses it is hardly necessary to add that Cardinal Gibbons has not spoken for the Church, though senior Cardinal, but only for himself in what he has said against State and national prohibition, and it should also be noted that he has declared for local option in the following words, quoted in American Brewers' Review: "I am in favor of local option applied to communities of such limited size, either of territory or of population, that the vote on the question can unmistakably show the majority sentiment for or against the sale of liquor."

Testimony of Conservative Protestant Witnesses.

It would take a series of volumes to give the testimony of Protestant preachers against the saloon. We call as witnesses only some exceptional conservatives who have not stood for prohibition, at least not in peace times. This testimony is therefore in the nature of admissions.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, in the Outlook, August, 1911, thus pictured the American saloon:

"The evils of the liquor traffic as at present carried on in the United States are enormous—so great and so potent that the liquor dealers themselves are beginning to demand reform. The economic burden which that

traffic entails upon the communities is hard to estimate. It is a prolific cause of two of society's greatest burdens, poverty and crime. **But these economic burdens are the least. The corruption of politics, the destruction of families and the degradation of character caused by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors cannot be estimated.**

Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D. D., New York, says:

"I know what these saloons are. I have visited them at all hours of the night and on all nights of the week, and there is not an extenuating word that deserves to be spoken in behalf of them. They are foul, beastly and swinish, the prolific hot beds of vile politics, profane ribaldry and unspeakable sensuality."

Official Pictures of the Saloon.

We now add the testimony of government officials, especially because they put emphasis on the blighting influence of the saloon in politics.

Let us view the standard picture of the American Saloon made by the U. S. Supreme Court (137 U. S. 86):

"The statistics of every State show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these liquor saloons than to any other source."

Here is a sketch of the bad influence of the saloon on municipal politics, made by *Hon. Wm. H. Taft,* before he was President:

"If it were possible to eliminate the saloon influence, you could reduce the corruption attendant on any municipal political campaign to a minimum." (See also p. 46.)

Here is the picture of the saloon business that was made with a vigorous hand by *Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt,* when he was a police commissioner:

"The liquor business tends to produce criminality in the population at large, and law-breaking among the saloon-keepers themselves. It debauches not only the body social but the body politic as well. (See p. 45.)

Saloon Domination and Saloon Damnation.

One of the reasons why many who use liquors are by no means anti-alcohol, are nevertheless anti-saloon, is because this lowest branch of business, whether licensed or unlicensed, seek everywhere to dominate politics, in order that it may secure all possible concessions for itself by statute, and then further immunity from punishment for habitual law breaking, shouting "Liberty" while debauching our free institutions. The saloon has taken the sword of politics and shall perish by that sword which it has so grossly abused in its own selfish and criminal interests.

And here is the picture made May 26, 1911, at the Presbyterian General Assembly by one who was three times the Presidential candidate of the Democratic party, *Hon. Wm. J. Bryan:*

"Shall we forever bow in subserviency to the liquor traffic, the destroyer of the people? A saloon is a nuisance, its influence for evil can not be confined to the building in which it is conducted any more than the odors of a slaughter house can be confined to the block in which it is located. Any unit, however small or large, should be permitted to rid itself of the saloon." Later Mr. Bryan said: "The saloon is what it is. You can not clean it or purify it. You can only get rid of it by driving it out."

Let us add another picture of the liquor traffic from *Ex-Governor Joseph W. Folk,* of Missouri, who illustrated more fully than any other man has done what

"Chief Executive" means in case of a Governor, by compelling the big cities of his State to observe moral laws:

"It is a business, the natural tendency of which is toward lawlessness, and the time has come when it will either run the politics of the State or be run out of the politics of the State."

And here is another Democratic leader "from Missouri," who is ready to "show" any man or State that does not know the real saloon, just what it is:

Congressman Champ Clark, Speaker of the National House of Representatives, frankly said in a newspaper interview, when asked by the reporter regarding the fitness of the saloon as a place for young men to frequent:

"Not if he is ambitious to live a clean successful life. If he wishes to excel in crime, rob his mental and physical powers, consort with thugs, blacklegs, prostitutes and thieves, be a disgrace to his family and a stench to his own nostrils, why I'd advise him to frequent the saloons. He can learn and be all that in any liquor saloon. In fact he can take his post-graduate course without leaving the premises. The saloon is bad mainly because of what it sells. But it is also bad because liquor selling always somehow creates in the premises where it is sold a most unhealthy atmosphere. One of the worst phases of the saloon life is the treating system. I have seen a half dozen choice American citizens, leaders in their line of work, line up in front of a bar, and in less than thirty minutes come out indecent jabbering idiots. A hog would feel insulted if any one of them should call it brother. You know how it is done. One threw down the dollar that he said he couldn't afford to give his wife two hours before and treated the bunch. The others did the same. And so on until the bartender had served six orders, seventy-six drinks and had pocketed the change of six American sheep."

Saloons as a Means of Grace.

The saloons that have been thus faithfully described are the institutions that Prof. Munsterberg of Harvard University, and others would allow as temptations to strengthen character. If such temptations made robust character, then Chicago ought to furnish moral heroes enough to lead the whole nation. And besides the Lord's prayer should be revised by erasing, "Lead us not into temptation."

The New York Morning Sun, in June, 1918, made the following sarcastic comment on a letter published in a previous issue which argued, that as great men and great races of the past had used intoxicating drinks, we should therefore use them to strengthen character by providing temptations to be overcome. On this the editor of the Sun remarked: "Old man Time makes an impregnable case. The strongest races and the most powerful peoples have been those who have drunk the most. Without the temptation of drink no progress. The stronger the drink, the more potent the temptation; ergo, the more rapid the progress. Undismayed and unashamed by reason of the suddenness of our conversion, we appeal no longer to the moderate drinker, but to Congress. In the name of the race and on behalf of posterity, we pray you, sirs, reverse yourselves. Take the ban off those alcoholic products of distillation commonly known as whiskey, rum, gin and brandy. They are the potent agents of progress."

Of course it might be argued in the same way that slave-holding and autocracy make men and nations strong, for most of the great nations have had one or both of these institutions—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Macedon, Rome. But isn't it rather crude reasoning to cite the example of dead cities

and nations? There is no good reason why a nation should die. They usually die of moral cancer, and we do well to avoid rather than imitate their vices. Something killed them, and the general judgment of mankind is that Drink was one of the killers. At any rate it did not keep them alive. The only ancient peoples that survive are the Chinese, the Jews and the Arabs, all abstaining or abstemious races.

Let us keep Prof. Munsterberg's theory in mind while we survey the final saloon picture often quoted by the witty and eloquent Irish Catholic orator, Mr. John F. Cunneen, my associate in a prohibition auto tour through Maine, as the words of a Roman Catholic priest, unnamed:

"We will not trouble ourselves about what the saloon might have been, or try the difficult task of finding an ideal saloon, but I will describe the saloon as it is here and now.

"The saloon is a place where men, women and children, having the necessary money, get drink—and get drunk. It is a school wherein husbands and fathers learn to be at ease about ill-clad, and ill-fed wives and children, and to fling away, those airy notions called honest pride and laudable ambition, for the solid gratification of their palates, and the sense of "feeling good" all over. It is a school wherein also wives and mothers learn to forget their husbands' honor and their own, and to steel their hearts against the cries of neglected little ones. It is a school wherein sons learn to despise the quiet pure joys of home, to become vile in word, in act, in aspiration, and to fetter themselves, body and soul, with the drink demon's chains. It is a school wherein daughters learn the shortest way to break their parents' hearts, to think a blush a weakness, to prize drink more than decency, to become viler than the mud in the city's streets!

"The saloon is the friend of the drunkard, the gambler, the prostitute, the blasphemer, the profaner of Sunday, the corrupt politician, the ballot-box stuffer, the "repeater," the law-breaker of every name. The saloon is, in a word, the friend of all that is evil, of naught that is good. It defiles all that it touches. It makes the good bad, and the bad worse. Like a vulture, it thrives on carrion; cholera-like, it feeds and fattens on physical and moral dirt, disease and degradation. It breaks hearts, wrecks homes, infects society, betrays the state, and is the foremost ally of the devil against the church of God. It is the vestibule of hell. Read over its door, 'Leave hope behind.' Farewell, indeed, to hope of honest wealth, of honorable fame, of happy life, of holy death, of heaven. Once begun, swift the decent and fearful. Out of many by-ways go the graduates of the saloon. In the gutters they wallow. In low dens and brothels they lead living deaths. In gloomy prison cells they pine and rot. In madman's cages they rage and howl. On grim scaffolds they pay the price of blood. Only God's omnipotence can snatch them from the one ending of the road they have taken: hell. It could, but will it?"

New Evidence Against the Saloon Revealed by War.

All the preceding evidence against the saloon is on a peace basis. War's curtain of fire has revealed serious anti-social wrongs in its workings which we fully prove elsewhere. (See pp. 19-50.) But while the saloon stands at the bar, with all the testimony previously given of the injury it has done in peace to the drinker, to his home, to even honest business, and to politics, we recall also in brief the treasonable part it has been shown to play in war—undermining the virtue and lessening the fighting strength of soldiers, lowering the working efficiency of munition workers, miners and builders; wasting the food and fuel and money and "morale" needed to win the war. The saloon, convicted in

peace as a robber and murderer, is clearly seen in war to be a traitor. When all the foodstuff was needed for bread for ourselves and our Allies; and all the coal for munition plants and other war work; and all the money and all the man-power of body and soul for the supreme contest of the ages, the saloon insisted on holding for its own profiteering these necessities of war, even to the jeopardizing of our victory; and when a majority of the people for months cried out for prohibition. stayed the hand of the Government by its hidden spell. Benedict Arnold never did anything half so bad as that.

Liquor Sellers Excluded by All First Grade Fraternities.

In addition to these individual witnesses to the harmfulness of the saloon we summon en masse a great cloud of witnesses, the fraternities, of which the following exclude from membership all who sell intoxicating liquors—a most damning indictment of the whole trade I verified this list by correspondence in 1908. See my "World Book of Temperance," p. 38.

Masons, Odd Fellows, United Workmen, Maccabees, Tribe of Ben Hur, Fraternal Mystic Circle, Foresters, Catholic Benevolent Legion, Modern Woodmen, United American Mechanics, Scottish Clans, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, Loyal Americans, Knights and Ladies of Honor, Fraternal Union of America, Fraternal Brotherhood, National Union, Protected Home Circle, Heptosophs Improved Order, Royal League, Yeomen of America, Woodmen of the World, Brotherhood of American Yeomen, Order of the Star of Bethlehem.

The exclusion of liquor dealers from fraternities came to be so general that they and their friends were driven to organize some new ones that would tolerate their presence. Significantly nearly all of these were named from beasts and birds of prey. Surely a city or town should not license men to run "poor men's clubs," as saloons are sometimes called, who are habitually excluded from the most ancient and honorable fraternities, which bar out the men of no other business.

All Commercialized Vices Offer Some Excuses.

There must be something to say in rebuttal for an institution that so many have supported The Saloon's rebuttal today is faint and feeble, and repeats the same excuses for tolerating drink that have been made for about all the cast off institutions that have been sent to the limbo of crimes against civilization in the twenty Christian centuries. When the reformers proposed the abolition of the Roman arena, where savage beasts and gladiators and martyrs were "slain to make a Roman holiday," doubtless its defenders objected because it would throw so many gladiators and attendants out of employment, and deprive the State of revenue; and they may have suggested that the working classes would make trouble if deprived of their customary amusement. No doubt some of the defenders of the brutal arena urged that it should be regulated more strictly by raising the license fee and manicuring the lions, and perhaps omitting "thumbs down." Probably some urged that if the killing was not done in the arena just as much killing would be done in secret cock pits, and the government would get no revenue. They urged, no doubt, that there is in the human race an inherent craving for killing which must be accepted as a fact, and the arena counted a benevolent institution because it puts that craving under public supervision and regulation.

Polygamy was defended—and still is—as Scriptural, just as the liquor devil quotes Scripture to this purpose. Polygamy was and is defended as a

pleasure that prevents worse evils. Piracy was defended as an ancient and romantic way of making a living. What would the pirates do for a living if deprived of their occupation? Duelling had the defense of custom and alleged honor. Men would become cowards if not allowed to fight. Slavery was defended, as the liquor traffic is, from the Bible, and because it was a legalized business. What could "King Cotton" do without his slaves? Opium was defended as a solace in sorrow, and as a necessary evil that must be allowed to certain races and classes. Banks holding opium securities might start financial troubles if it was prohibited, or opium users might "start something" if out off from their dope. In any case they would do something just as bad and so it would make things no better, and an easy source of revenue would be lost.

Arthur Burrage Farwell quotes a policeman of Hyde Park, Illinois, who apologized for tolerating a gambling den on the ground that if it was closed the gamblers would be holding up citizens on the street.

In all these cases men interested to hold on to muddy and bloody gold plead for restriction instead of prohibition. They urged that men could not be made good by act of Congress. The preachers should "preach the Gospel," instead of appealing to law and force. When all men were educated and converted, evils would cease, but till then we might as well accept human nature as it is and make vice pay for its damages in taxation.

Such excuses for the licensed saloon instead of mitigating the case against it, only add another proved count to the indictment. *Its poisoning of the minds and souls of officials and of many private citizens who do not patronize the saloon, but by voting license agree to let its crimes go on for a share of its blood money; and having done so can never see straight when the saloon question is up for judgment. This poisoning of the public mind is worse than the poisoning of the drinker's body by so much as the public welfare is more than any individual interest.*

The license system not only poisons the State—the legislative, judicial and executive officers and the citizens, save those of heroic mold who never consent to it by ballot or even by silence—it also poisons the channels of honest trade, where every legalized business must have its right of way; and it even poisons the church to some extent, for church members are in politics and in business, and can not—or at least will not wholly dissociate themselves from any legalized business. The only way to get this blood-poisoning out of the system is to put the liquor traffic out of business

It has seemed necessary to show the real nature and influence of the saloon by a great cloud of witnesses because many voters never saw a saloon on the inside in full action, late on a Saturday night when most of the patrons are too drunk to restrain their appetites or even guard their wages against robbery.

The Sin and Folly of License.

It is this beastly, swinish saloon, the prolific nest of disease, disorder and poverty, of which Rev. John Pierpont said in an attack on license seventeen years before the Maine law was enacted:

"And will ye give to man a bill
Divorcing him from Heavens high sway?
And while God says, 'Thou shalt not kill,'
Say ye, 'For gold ye may, ye may?'"

It was this traffic of which the Methodist General Conference of the United States said, in 1888: "The liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin. License, high or low, is vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy."

Voters are asked to denaturize this demoralizing saloon and proclaim it an honorable business, to be conducted openly beside the banks and bakeries It is amazing that the business man who would resent the offer of $75 for his vote, openly favors licensing the saloon because its *license fee would lighten his taxes—75 cents,* provided there was no offset in the consequent increase of crime and poverty, which cost him at least ten times the 75 cents for which he sells his vote and risks his own and his neighbor's boy

There may be some cases where a community is so backward or corrupt that "No license" or prohibition could not be enforced, or at least would not be enforced if enacted. But that is no reason why the saloon should be legalized any more than the other vices that go on in the same cities. Let every intelligent and humane voter at least keep his own hands clean The worst "black hand" is the one that votes license for the devilish traffic that destroys body and soul, home and liberty. It would be folly to break the sword and surrender to the foe because the hands that have wielded it have sometimes been weak or timid or corrupt. The Decalogue has not been repealed because Sodom disregarded it. In the words of George Washington, which New York has cut on the Washington Arch:

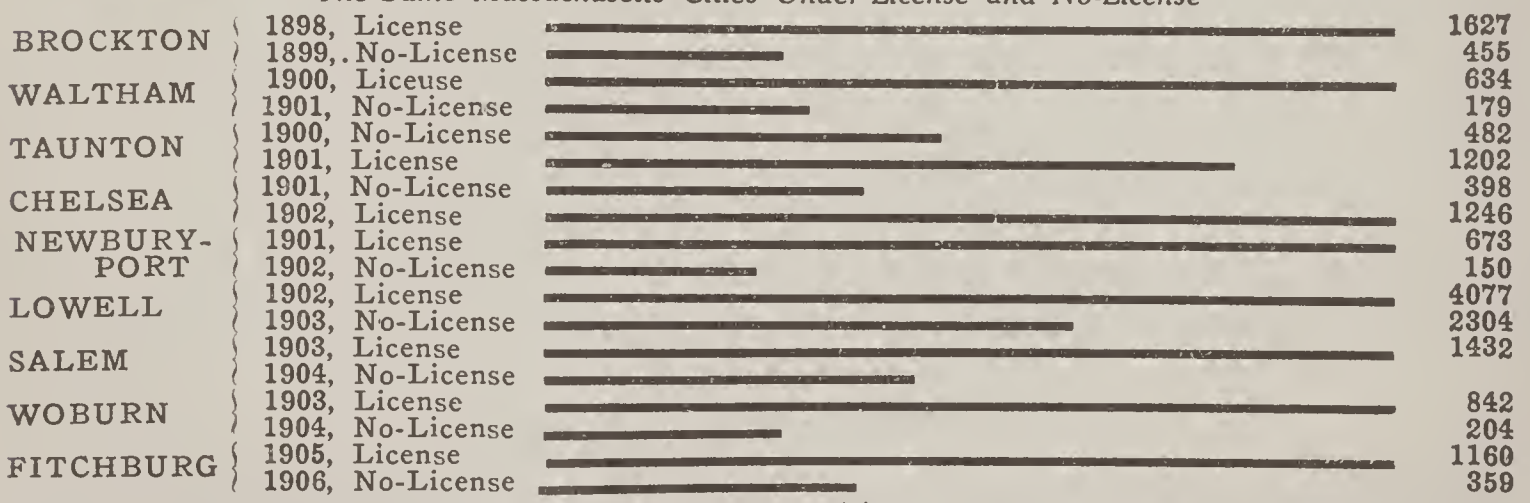
"LET US RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND HONEST CAN REPAIR. THE EVENT IS IN THE HAND OF GOD."

Actual Tests of No License.

Having shown the harmfulness of the liquor traffic and the failure of the alternative license, we turn to the evidence that prohibition is the most effective governmental restriction of the liquor evil. We have to do in this case only with local prohibition by "local veto" or "local option" or "home rule."

COMPARATIVE ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS

Tne Same Massachusetts Cities Under License and No-License



With License the arrests for drunkenness in the same cities are from 2 to nearly 5 times as great as with No-License. (Chart prepared by Massachusetts No-License League.)

These proportions are repeated with monotonous regularity in other tables not only of Massachusetts, but in other no license States. From this early story of Massachusetts we jump to its yet more favorable record for 1917-18. The argument of the liquor forces that a no-license law in a town does not materially reduce the amount of drinking in that town, particularly if it happens to be

near another place where liquor can be procured, suffers a hard knock by the statistics of arrests for drunkenness in Massachusetts for the saloon year ending April 30, 1918. These figures, which are official and authoritative, show that *the proportion of arrests in license cities in the State was* 36.51 *per* 1,000, *while in no-license cities it was only* 8.77 *per* 1,000.

A word of stinging protest is needed and Massachusetts needs it as much as any other State—perhaps more—against the city that stays wet just because a neighbor town is dry, and the merchants hope that some of the drinkers who come across the town line to get booze will spend some of their money for other goods. "A license town, in its saloons maintains an open cesspool at the doors of its neighbor towns, and is, therefore, a nuisance. Let the good people of such a town think of what it means to the homes of surrounding towns to have fathers, brothers and sons coming home drunk simply because one such town in the region hasn't decency enough to clean up!"

No License Has Better Chance in West.

In Massachusetts no license has won against the greatest handicaps, because big wet towns are usually near to those that vote dry, and the population is largely of foreign birth and naturally prejudiced against prohibition, and especially the "bone dry" brand. In Western States with population more American and more scattered we get better results. As we cite the experience of Massachusetts as representative of local option States of the East we subjoin as representative of Western local option States, reports of mayors of dry towns of Minnesota, sent to the State Anti-Saloon League early in 1916. The population given is that of 1910 census, on which there has been a considerable increase.

CLOQUET, MINN., 7,031 Population—"City dry since Nov., 1913. Prosperity increased, volume of business larger; 1913 tax rate 5.57, 1914, 4.89; 1915, 5.33. Since the town went dry large improvements have been made. In 1914 there were 16,600 square yards of paving done. In 1915 a reservoir built, costing $10,000, and fire hall, costing $12,000. Bank deposits increased, although the figures are about the same as they were in 1913, this is really a big increase as during 1915 the lumber business was very poor and as this is a lumber town, it is a big item to hold our own under conditions as they were in 1915. Collections much better. Vacant store buildings about the same. Sentiment for a dry town stronger than ever. Decrease in poverty and only half as many arrests.

FERGUS FALLS, 6,887 Population—"Our city dry three years. Increase of prosperity. Taxes a little higher. Bank deposits increased. Collections better. No vacant stores or vacant houses in the town. Sentiment for a dry town is stronger than ever. Decrease in poverty and less arrests. Our people are prosperous and happy and many of the old soaks are now paying their debts contracted during the wet regime. I used to favor high license, believing it to be for the best of the city. I now know I was wrong."

FAIRMONT, 2,958 Population—"Fairmont dry ten months. Increase of prosperity. Volume of business larger. Present tax rate somewhat higher, but because new school building, costing $125,000, has been built. Bank deposits increased. Collections better. Less vacant stores and houses. Sentiment for dry town stronger than ever. Poverty decreased. Less arrests."

Similar reports are in the record from ten towns all conservatively favorable.

No License Benefits in the South.

In the South, as in the West, with population more native and less urban, the working of no license is more satisfactory than in Northeastern States and reversions from dry to wet States are less frequent. We select Florida as a good sample of Southern States and out of reports sent to State Anti-Saloon League from eleven dry *counties,* all favorable to no license, we quote that which presents the usual results in the fullest and best classified form, namely, Palatka, of Putnam County:

"If saloons would help any town, they should have helped this, as we have had plenty of them for over fifty years. Up to 1907, the year we got the saloons out, we had a dilapidated old town, no concrete sidewalks, no brick-paved streets. Many times I have seen planks laid across the street in the main business section in order to get across after a rain.

IMPROVEMENTS BEGIN: Now we have about nine miles of brick-paved streets and nearly thirty miles of granolithic sidewalks. Population grown to 6,000, over 3,000 white.

TAXES LOWERED: Since we got saloons out we have done this paving and built a bridge across St. Johns River at cost of $45,460.36; also court house at cost of $34,998.05, and made many miles of hard-surfaced roads leading in all directions. City water that cost each family $10.00 per year in saloon times now furnished by city free. Taxes lowered two mills.

VACANT HOUSES FILLED: In 1907 there were many vacant stores and cottages. Since then many built and all occupied. Not a decent house today vacant.

ENEMIES CONVINCED: Many who worked hard to keep saloons here, honestly believing that their removal would injure business, now come forward like men and acknowledge their mistake. One bought a brick property just before the dry movement began, at $1,900, and sold it last year for over $7,000, and had put only $400 improvements on it.

PROPERTY VALUES INCREASE: Many pieces of property doubled in value. A brick property that sold for $10,000 two months after town went "dry" cannot be bought today for $20,000. Putnam House, closed for years, reopened about two years ago, is now flourishing. Owners so encouraged they have put in over $6,000 in improvements. Man went to the owner of Putnam House and asked aid in getting saloons back only to receive emphatic answer: "If saloons open here again, I will be gone and Putnam House will be for sale for what it will bring."

CONDITION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE: Many of the colored people now own homes, many are building, others buying on the installment plan and keeping their bills paid. The colored Baptists have replaced their old church with a nice brick building seating 1,200 people. The present pastor has been here seven months and has raised $3,332, and taken in 142 members. The A. M. E. people have replaced their old wooden structure with a stone church, a real beauty, and a credit to any town. They burned their mortgage just before Christmas. The M. E. colored people got proud, too, and built a brick church, with a basement and kitchen, and they can cook, eat and be happy,—and they are happy! There are six other colored churches in town, and all are flourishing. They claim eighteen secret orders among them.

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL: Our ladies have taken great pride in beautifying our town, cleaning vacant lots, making parks, planting flowers and shrubbery, with grass on the city hall lot and the courthouse square. They did not do this in

saloon times, because they had no heart or disposition to try for a beautiful city, with so much saloon trash about on all sides."

The story of dry and wet towns under no license in other States is monotously alike in that everywhere, despite wet towns near at hand, there are fewer arrests, better collections, increasd prosperity and never any trouble about the lost revenue. The tax rate is either reduced or increased only because of better schools and other public improvemnts. The money formerly spent for drink does not vanish into thin air but goes into other and better purchases, and the increased taxes on these new investments of real and personal estate more than takes the place of the saloon licenses, that were really paid mostly out of the pockets of the poor, whose bad debts and crime and poverty made additional taxes, which the dry policy saved.

The President of the Kentucky W. C. T. U. gives two short stories which like a flash-light show the benefits of no license in Kentucky, the first State to adopt local option, under which most of the State has long been dry, 106 counties out of 120.

When Casey County was wet the Circuit Judge was asked about the civil docket? He replied: "We are more than two years behind, and have asked for a special term to try the civil cases. We have three terms of court, two weeks each term, which are entirely filled with criminal cases and we are never up with the criminal docket." The county went dry and four years later, Mrs. Beauchamp again asked the question, "What about the court docket?" He said: "We have entirely cleared up our criminal docket, and now we easily dispose of all the business in two or three days of each term of court."

Pulaski County, the largest county in the State, had fifteen saloons in the towns. All the county came under local prohibition except the county seat. The saloons had paid a thousand dollars a year license. Despite the fact that many feared it would be very difficult to raise the taxes necessary, they voted out the saloons. The merchants and business men of the town were immediately taxed ten dollars to meet the anticipated deficit. At the end of the first year, the taxes were removed; the town had extended the street car line, which they had been told would be abolished; they had put in a fountain; beautified the central square of the city, and made other improvements. For the first time the city was entirely out of debt. The criminal docket had gone from occupying almost the entire term of court to a matter of a few days.

And yet Barnum's estimate that "a sucker is born every minute" is verified by the number of business men that have sense enough to make money, who haven't sense enough to see the fallacy on the face of the saying that "prohibition makes a dead town." To a man who thinks "life" is in abounding quarrels, murders, adulteries and riots, a dry town may seem "dead." East St. Louis, with scores dead and hundreds wounded in saloon riots, was that a *live* town? Saloons produce death in no merely figurative sense. They are "murder mills," as long since labeled, and the citizens furnish the boys that become both the murderers and the murdered; and the citizens pay the costs in court and charity expenses and lost man-power. Save when some nation-wide or world-wide financial depression comes with prohibition it always improves honest business by turning a part of the drink expenditures to honest trade. But that is the smallest part of the benefit. The change from moral death to joyous life in drunkard's homes is a greater boon. Prohibition makes life worth living. Newport, R. I., was made dry by executive order of Secretary Daniels, March 16, 1918. The chief of Police states that before saloons closed he had five or six

women every month who complained of their husbands coming home drunk, having spent all their wages in saloons on Saturday night. No further credit being allowed at the grocers, wives asked help. After saloons closed domestic trouble ceased. He had no complaints up to date of report four months later.

They say that closing saloons "hurts business." Sure it does—some kinds.

THE TOWN'S GONE DRY.

These "dry" days we hear complaining,
That the sheriff's work is waning,
  Now the town's gone dry.
There's less work for vice inspectors,
And for cops and crime detectors,
Less to do for bill collectors,
  Now the town's gone dry.

Trade in dope and guns is failing,
Yes, the pawnshop men are wailing,
  Now the town's quite dry.
Though the place of late has grown some,
Business of that sort has flown some,
All the town-sharks here are lonesome,
  Now the town's gone dry.

Men don't show up dull and dizzy,
Ambulances not so busy,
  Now the town's gone dry.
Hands are steady, eyes are truer,
Accidents in mines are fewer;
Yes, the undertaker's bluer,
  Since the town's gone dry.

Grafters view the fact with loathing,
But there's "bully" trade in clothing,
  Now the town's gone dry.
All the redlight gang may blow sir,
But the baker and the grocer,
Hear them kicking? No, you don't, sir.
  Why? The town's gone dry.

—Adapted from Berton Braley, U. S. A.

The case is fully submitted. That the liquor traffic is harmful, and that even local prohibition greatly reduces the evils that result from it, is overwhelmingly proved. More than that, it is proved that the *licensing of the sale of poisonous beverages is inherently wrong, and could not be justified even if its evil results were less apparent and the remedy were less satisfactory.*

It was a police court and one of the usual line of drunks was before the judge. There was no dispute about the fact that he had been drunk and disorderly, "Three months," said the judge. There was something in the face of the prisoner's careworn wife who stood by that challenged the judge's attention and he said to her apologetically, "I'm sorry, but I had to do it." There was nothing in her face to suggest a Porthia come to judgment, but she said earnestly, "JUDGE, WOULDEN'T IT BE BETTER TO LOCK UP THE SALOONS AND LET MY HUSBAND GO TO WORK?"

IS GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF DRINK TRAFFIC A DELIVERANCE OR DELUSION?

Should the State conduct the **beverage** sale of intoxicants? Some good people say so. What is the essence of their logic? The major premise is: The growth of the liquor traffic, with its attendent evils, is due more to the greed of the seller than to the appetite of the buyer. The minor premise is: If the liquor were sold by government employees, whose salaries would not be increased by increased sales, the profits being devoted to schools and charities—since cheapening the liquors would be considered dangerous—the element of cupidity would be eliminated. The conclusion is, Eliminating cupidity from the liquor traffic thus would eliminate most of its harm.

Not even the minor premise is correct. **The dispensary does not even in theory, much less in practice, dispense with cupidity but only extends it to a larger number of people, retaining personal cupidity and adding social cupidity.** The taxpayer does not see that the liquor traffic, which he is thus bribed to spare when it should be slain, increases his taxes for pauperism and crime.

The Verdict of the Ages on Alcohol.

Annual Sermon by Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph. D., to National Association of Temperance Officials, Leeds, England, July 29, 1913.

At the bar of civilization stand John Barroom and John Barleycorn, the drink traffic and the drink habit, charged with crimes against individuals and homes, and treason against the nation and the world, because of their destruction of property and life and civil liberty. John Barroom is regarded by many as the chief offender because the bar room is a composite of many evils—alcohol plus bad associations. The bar room is a nest where all foul birds flock together; idleness, adultery, robbery, murder, bribery, anarchy. John Barleycorn poisons himself, and no one has a right to commit suicide whether suddenly or slowly; but John Barroom is **a promoter of poisoning, not only of the individual but of the Government.** The verdict of the jury, which we shall poll, is partly against one of the offenders, but in most cases against both. John Barroom could not do business without John Barleycorn as partner. It is time, as Dr. Francis E. Willard suggested, that we should follow our "anti-saloon" campaign with an **anti-alcohol** campaign, and work not alone for "a saloonless nation" but also for AN ALCOHOL-FREE WORLD.

Let us poll our jury.

I. The Verdict of Religion.

In the final crusade for worldwide prohibition, it is a decisive fact that all religions are for it. Hinduism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism are all known as "total abstinence religions." But for that fact so-called "Christian nations" would in Asia, as in Africa, have "made a thousand drunkards to one Christian." The figures are those of a conservative Archbishop of Canterbury. Christianity is also a total abstinence religion—seen to be so much more clearly since the Revised Version substituted for the old translation, "Abstain from every **appearance** of evil," the command, "Abstain from **every form** of evil." Will any one say that a traffic and usage that, in the words of Gladstone, has "done more harm than war, pestilence and famine," is not a "form of evil"? If it is, we are commanded to abstain from all participation in it, whether by drinking or selling or voting.

The Bible doctrine of abstinence, whose evolution begins with abstinence required of priests on duty, and encouraged in Nazarites for limited periods, reached the standard of total abstinence for one's own sake under Solomon—"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red"; and the standard of prohibition under Habbakkuk—"Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink." If a man may not even give it, he surely may not sell it.

Let us not forget that Catholics, to an increasing degree, are with us in the fight against drink. Hear the word of Archbishop Ireland: "Education, the elevation of the masses, liberty—all that we, the age, admires—is set at naught by this dreadful evil. The individual conscience is the first arm in opposing it, but **the individual conscience has to be strengthened and supplemented by law.** The claim of saloon keepers to freedom in their traffic is the claim to spread disease, sin, and pauperism."

The verdict of religion is:

> Pledge in thy noblest mood against thy worst;
> Pray then for strength to keep the sacred trust;
> Prohibit, too, the drink by God accursed.

II. The Verdict of Athletics.

So far back as the famous Greek games, athletes in training were required to abstain. Strange that men in those days nevertheless thought the liquors a man must avoid as an athlete would strengthen a workman for his task. In a modern walking match held at Kiel, Germany, the first four winners were abstainers. Among the ten prize winners, six were abstainers, and two of the others had lived entirely abstinent for months before the contest. Of the twenty-four abstainers who entered the race, only two failed to reach the goal; of the fifty-nine non-abstainers, thirty failed to reach it. The verdict of athletics in all ages is that the man who would win in the race of a day or the race of life must abstain. And the race that shall win the new race of in-

ternational trade competition, in which Britain, Germany and the United States have been the chief competitors, will be the race that is most abstinent. Here we find a patriotic argument for abstinence and prohibition. For my own sake, for Christ's sake, for my country's sake, for the sake of the human race, I should exclude liquors from my own lips and from my own land.

III. The Verdict of Insurance.

In 1844, Robert Warner, of London, a Quaker abstainer,—there were few abstainers then in any fold—applied for life insurance. His examination was satisfactory except in one point, namely, that he drank water instead of wine or whiskey. On the ground that he was thus endangering his health, he was rejected as "a bad life," that is, a bad risk. Later he was offered insurance if he would pay ten per cent. extra on account of the extra hazardous conditions in which he had placed himself by his "water habit." Instead of accepting this proposition, he gathered a few abstaining friends together and organized what is now called "The United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution," which for a while insured abstainers only, but soon opened a separate section for moderate drinkers, rebating to members of each section whatever the whole section fell short of the expected mortality, as scheduled in the regular insurance tables. The same plan was adopted later by the Sceptre Life Association, also of London, and the Scottish Temperance Life Insurance Company. In the first and second named the actual deaths of abstainers fell short of the expected mortality **twenty-seven per cent more than the moderate drinkers.** In the other case the abstainers' gain was twenty-six per cent. The "life abstainer" in the oldest of these companies may have twenty-five per cent off at the start, unless he prefers to have it added to the policy every five years. American companies have not usually given the abstainer rebates, but the American statistics tell the same story, as witness the following figures of President Green, of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of Hartford, Conn. The expectancy of life at 20 years for an abstainer is 44 additional years, for a moderate drinker 15; at 40 years, 28 and 11 respectively; at 60, 15 and 8.

Neither the individual nor the community can afford to tolerate bar rooms that promote for profit a habit that shortens as well as weakens human lives.

IV. The Verdict of Business.

The practical investigations of business men a few years ago, that half the railroad accidents were due to befuddled brains, for which reason abstainers came to be preferred for railway service, were among the many economic reasons that led more than half of the business establishments of the United States (51 per cent), as shown by a Govrnment investigation of a representative number, to give preference, in selecting employes, to total abstainers over the most moderate drinkers. Recent discoveries, which prove that a man can not hear an alarm bell or see a red light as quickly three days after taking one bottle of wine as if he had let it alone, will make it increasingly difficult for a drinking man to get a job in this age of steam and electricity. Hear what Mr. Carnegie says to young men of alcohol as a stumbling block in the path to success: "The first and most seductive peril, and the destroyer of most young men, is the drinking of liquor. I am no temperance lecturer in disguise, but a man who knows and tells what observation has proven to him, and I say to you that you are more likely to fail in your career from acquiring the habit of drinking liquor than from any or all the other temptations likely to assail you."

V. The Verdict of Fraternities.

Why is it that liquor dealers are excluded from the privilege of membership, not only of most of the churches, but also by the leading fraternities,—the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order of United Workmen, the Knights of Maccabees, the Tribe of Ben Hur, the American Legion of Honor, the Fraternal Mystic Circle, the Catholic Benevolent Legion, the Woodmen of the World, the Modern Woodmen of America, the Order of United American Mechanics and the Junior Order of the same, the Order of the Scottish Clans, and many more? Could there be a stronger evidence that the drink traffic is anti-social? There are some good men who do not seem to know that several of the fraternal orders that are named after beasts and birds of prey were organized to make a fellowship for liquor dealers who had been excluded from the churches and from all first class fraternities.

VI. The Verdict of Modern Science.

Let me express this verdict in language that even the children can understand, though the truths are great enough to interest the most learned. Every child is supposed to know Gulliver's story of the giant Brobdignag, attacked and conquered by a great army of tiny fairies, called Liliputians. "Fact is stranger than fiction" in the true story science is telling about man, the giant, attacked by a great army of microbes, germs, parasites, bacteria, who are bad fairies, so small that man can not see these tiny foes—indeed did not know till lately whence came the poison arrows that produce diseases which have cut down life from hundreds to scores of years. But in this case there is also a Liliputian army for the defense of man. The good fairies that defend us are the leucocytes—"little white soldiers" that swim in the red rivers of our blood, and whenever the microbes steal through our mouths or otherwise into our bodies, these "white guards" swim quickly to the spot and kill them and eat them. They leave no dead on the battlefield. When mouths are shut and bodies are whole, the microbes cannot get into us. When we get a scratch on the hand, the little enemies rush in through this break in the wall and shoot poison arrows into the blood. We feel the pain and poison. But quickly our white bodyguard comes swimming to the breach and holds the enemy back. If we keep our white soldiers sober and strong we need not be afraid of microbes. The little white soldiers need a good many of them for their daily rations.

But if we put wine, or beer, or whiskey or any other intoxicating drink down our throats, it makes our little defenders sleepy and stupid, and they don't "watch out" and fight our little foes, and then "all the germs from Germany, and all the parasites from Paris, and all the mike-robes from Ireland will get us."

This is the way Dr. Taav Laitinen states it: "Alcohol, even in comparatively small doses, exercises a prejudicial effect on the protective mechanism of the human body." And this is a still more learned statement on the effect of alcohol, which was signed on my initiative, by many great doctors at the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism: "Exact laboratory, clinical and pathological research have demonstrated that alcohol is a dehydrating, protoplasmic poison, and hence its use as a beverage is destructive and degenerating to the human organism. Its effects on the cells and tissues of the body are depressive, narcotic and anaesthetic. Hence, therapeutically, it should be used with the same care and restrictions as other poisonous drugs."

What Alcohol Really Is.

These Liliputian foes in the air are always watching for a chance to get into the fruits and grains also, for their sweet juices. They cannot get at the juices of the grape while it is whole, but an army of "ferments" camps on the grape—that is what looks like velvet—and waits for it to be broken. When the grape is broken in the wine-press or in any other way they rush in and gorge themselves, and leave their liquid excrement. That is what alcohol is. Now sing of your "ruby wine." In the same way when the barley is crushed, the yeast plants hovering in the air get in and gorge themselves on the sweets and excrete alcohol. If girls learn in childhood just what the nasty alcoholic drinks really are, do you think that when they become grown-up ladies they will ever offer the alcohol in wine, beer or in any form to their gentlemen friends? If this fact about the nature of alcohol was made known to everybody by faithful use of temperance lessons in public schools and Sunday schools and by posters put up in every town, and by accurate leaflets circulated from door to door, I am sure many "moderate drinkers" would refuse to be fooled any longer by the "mocker" that pretends to bring health and joy, but really brings sickness and sorrow.

Alcohol as Foe of Efficiency.

Science speaks not only with reference to health, but also of the relation of alcohol to physical and mental efficiency. Professor Kraepelin, at Heidelberg University, by testing the effects of alcohol upon mental work, showed that under the influence of alcohol a man memorized 60 figures after 60 repetitions, while before taking the alcohol he memorized 100 with only 40 repetitions. The exercise requiring the highest powers of the mind were most seriously affected by alcohol. We hear much of the

effect of liquors on workmen, but the lowered efficiency of captains of armies and captains of industry are much more serious. When a glass of champagne made a railway president blab his plans to beat another railroad his "extra dry" cost at least a million.

President C. W. Elliott says of the effects of alcohol on action and reaction of mind and body:

"The short interval between seeing a flash of light and putting your muscles in motion to touch a spot on the table is the time reaction. It is demonstrated that alcohol, even in the most moderate quantity, affects unfavorably that time reaction, that is, slows the whole nervous action of the man who takes it. I had occasion to know about the time reaction of a once famous pugilist. He was expecting to fight in a city some distance from Boston. The appointment was made, but he had been out on a succession of sprees. He was brought to Cambridge and his time reaction was tested. It was very slow. Now, this man had always been famous for the quickness of his time reaction. A pugilist has need to have a very short time reaction. He must see by the motion of his opponent's fist just where he is going to strike, and put his own arm in the way quickly. **Alcohol in very moderate doses diminishes efficiency.**"

No wonder President Eliot, in the light of such experiments, declares that it is "inexpedient" for even a self-controlled gentleman to drink at all. And the same evidence proves it inexpedient for a Government to license institutions which promote industrial inefficiency. The employer or employee who drinks administers to himself an industrial anesthetic. He is not giving those who pay his wage or salary the full powers of body and mind for which they pay.

VII. The Verdict of History.

For a hundred years America has been the world's experiment station for alcohol. Sincere men have solemnly TRIED TO MAKE POISON BEVERAGES HARMLESS BY SELLING THEM IN NEW WAYS: low license, high license, government ownership, and even doxology saloons—we have tried everything and have found NOTHING HELPS EXCEPT TOTAL ABSTINENCE, AND PROHIBITION. THAT IS THE DOUBLE VERDICT OF HISTORY. We prohibit the saloon as a promoter of drinking, an enemy of the home and of honest business, a "germ center of lawlessness," and a "conscienceless corruptor of American politics. The one thing on which the great leaders of all parties, such men as Taft and Roosevelt, and Bryan, and Champ Clark, and leaders of all faiths, and speakers for "wets" and "drys," and even liquor papers are agreed upon is THAT THE SALOON IS AN HABITUAL CRIMINAL. That is the real meaning of the slogan the liquor men pay to publish, "Prohibition won't prohibit," which is only a veiled threat that liquor dealers will not obey the law if enacted. That anarchistic threat is sufficient reason why any true patriot should vote out this arch-anarchist; and, there are some who will so vote not because they are opposed to alcoholic drinks, or even to barrooms, but because they will no longer tolerate the domination of State and local politics by any business in its own selfish interest.

Conclusion of the Whole Matter.

The autocracy and anarchy of alcohol are the supreme counts against it, a double treason. The habitual anarchy of the liquor traffic, trampling on even the mild laws set to restrain it, is worse than any wrong it does to individual victims; but its domination of even the best democracies in politics is its supreme treason, and the ominous cloud in their sky.

In the United States and Great Britain we have discussed the drink problem too exclusively as only a hygienic, economic and moral problem. France, aroused to study the alcohol peril because of the increasing tendency of its birth-rate to fall below the death rate, HAS PUT THE PATRIOTIC ARGUMENT UPPERMOST IN ITS OFFICIAL WARNINGS AGAINST EVEN MODERATE DAILY USE OF BEER AND WINE AS THE CHIEF CAUSE OF THE ALARMING DECLINE IN BIRTH RATE: "For the health of the individual, for the existence of the family, FOR THE FUTURE OF THE NATION, alcohol is one of the most terrible scourges."

Nowhere better than in that slogan do we find expressed the verdict of the ages on alcohol.

And if alcohol is such a "terrible scourge" to individual and family and nation, THE VERDICT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A SENTENCE OF DEATH, TO BE EXECUTED THROUGH THE PLEDGE AND PROHIBITION.

Handwriting on the Wall of King Alcohol.

Address by Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph. D.

The doom of King Alcohol is being written by a divine Hand whose five fingers are hygiene, efficiency, heredity, patriotism, humanity.

I. The Finger of Hygiene.

The laws of nature are really the oldest testament, but only recently have its hieroglyphics, written in the white and red of nerve cells and blood corpuscles, found a Daniel to interpret them. It was at the feet of the foremost medical experts of Germany, France, Britain and the United States that President C. W. Eliot, of Harvard University, unlearned, at seventy, his life long theory that a gentleman might properly drink beer and wine in moderation. He now proclaims that in the light of modern science it is "inexpedient" to drink intoxicants at all.

But the strongest proof that alcoholic drinks injure health and shorten life is the testimony of life insurance.

AVERAGE LENGTH OF LIFE

As Shown by Experience of
European Insurance Societies

Total Abstainer at 20 years of age and after

20 Years **Expectation 44 Years**

Average Life **64 Years**

Moderate Drinker at 20 years of age and after

20 Years **Expectation 31 Years**

Average Life **51 Years**

Loss 13 Years

Hard Drinker at 20 years of age and after

Expectation 15 Years

20 Years

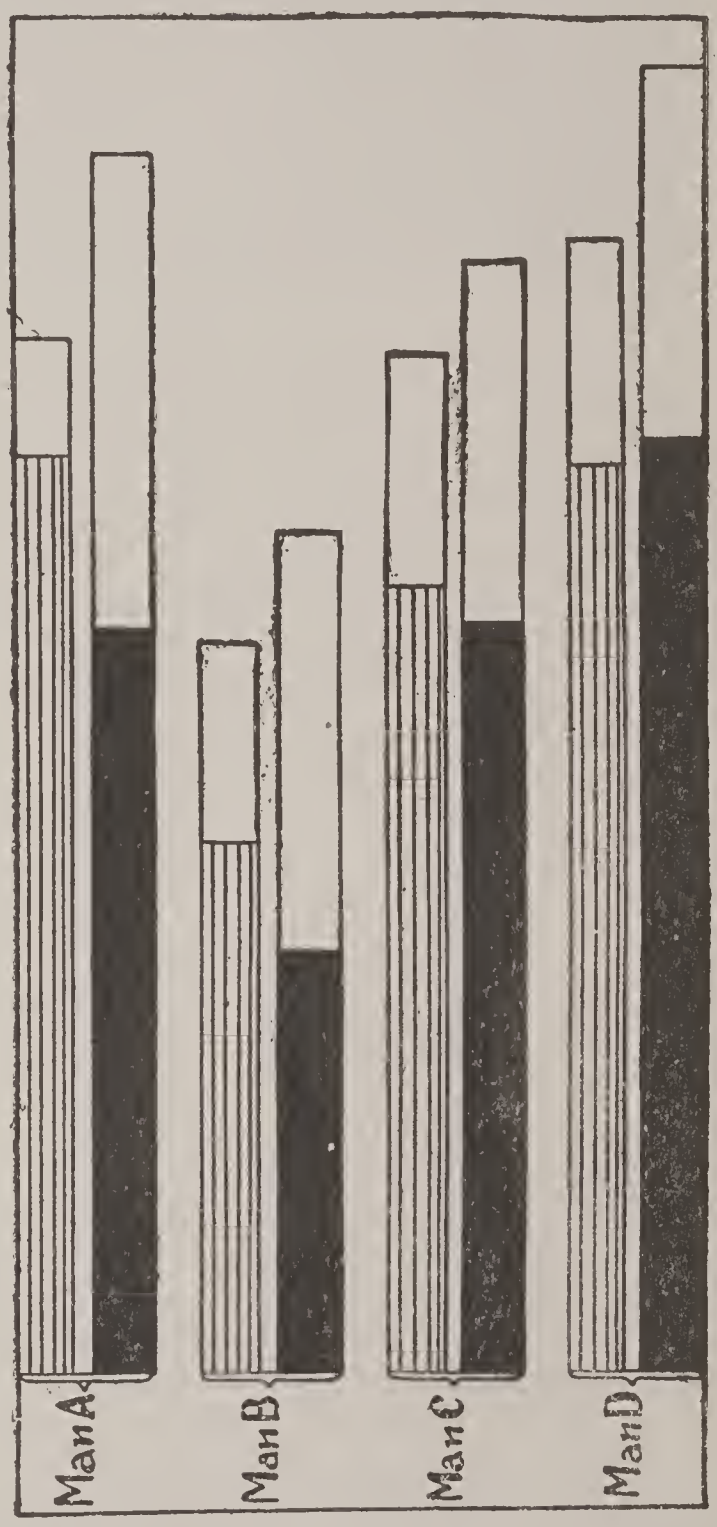
Average Life **35 Years**

Loss 29 Years

For Health and Long Life, Abstain.

British insurance societies that have insured total abstainers and moderate drinkers separately for long periods—one for half a century—have found that even the purest and mildest intoxicating drinks, taken in moderation at home, are slow poisons, that kill almost half a year of life each year, so that moderate drinkers 20 years of age die on the average at 51, which is 13 years sooner than they would die if abstainers.

II. The Finger of Efficiency.



Copyright 1910, Scientific Temperance Federation

Prof. G. Aschaffenberg's experiments made on four printers on four consecutive days. Lined Blocks represent average of work done on abstinent days (1st and 3rd). Black Blocks represent average of work done on alcohol days (2nd and 4th). White Outlines show how far each man fell short of accomplishing work expected. Average loss of working ability due to alcohol about 9%. Loss of working ability greatest in Man A, heaviest drinker; least in Man D, lightest drinker but his work far short of expected.

The old argument for abstinence was that one who drinks may become a drunkard; the new argument is that only by abstinence can one reach the highest efficiency. As John G. Wooley says, **"The argument is no longer failure but fitness."** The United States Bureau of Labor sums up a report on "The Economic Aspects of the Liquor Question," based partly on answers to questions sent to a representative list of American employers, in these words: "More than half the establishments reporting require in certain occupations and under certain circumstances, that employees shall not use intoxicating liquors."

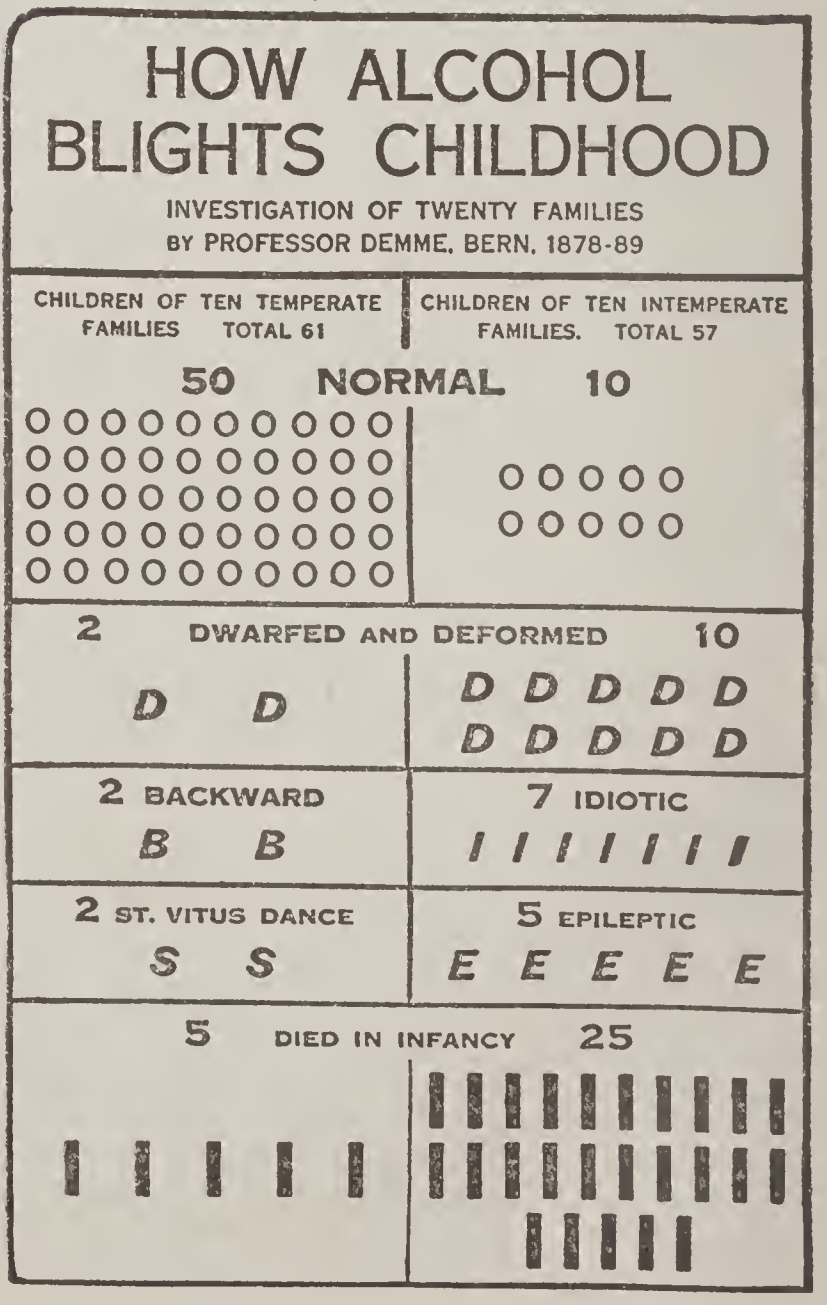
Among the most convincing proofs that alcohol reduces efficiency are the experiments of Professor Aschaffenberg on four German beer-drinking typesetters, who in sixteen days of experiment—four days each—averaged 9 per cent more work and more pay on the days they drank nothing than on the days they drank one ounce. That is not "moderate drinking" but **microscopic** drinking—as much alcohol as is contained in two glasses of beer or less than one bottle of Greek wine. (See cut over.)

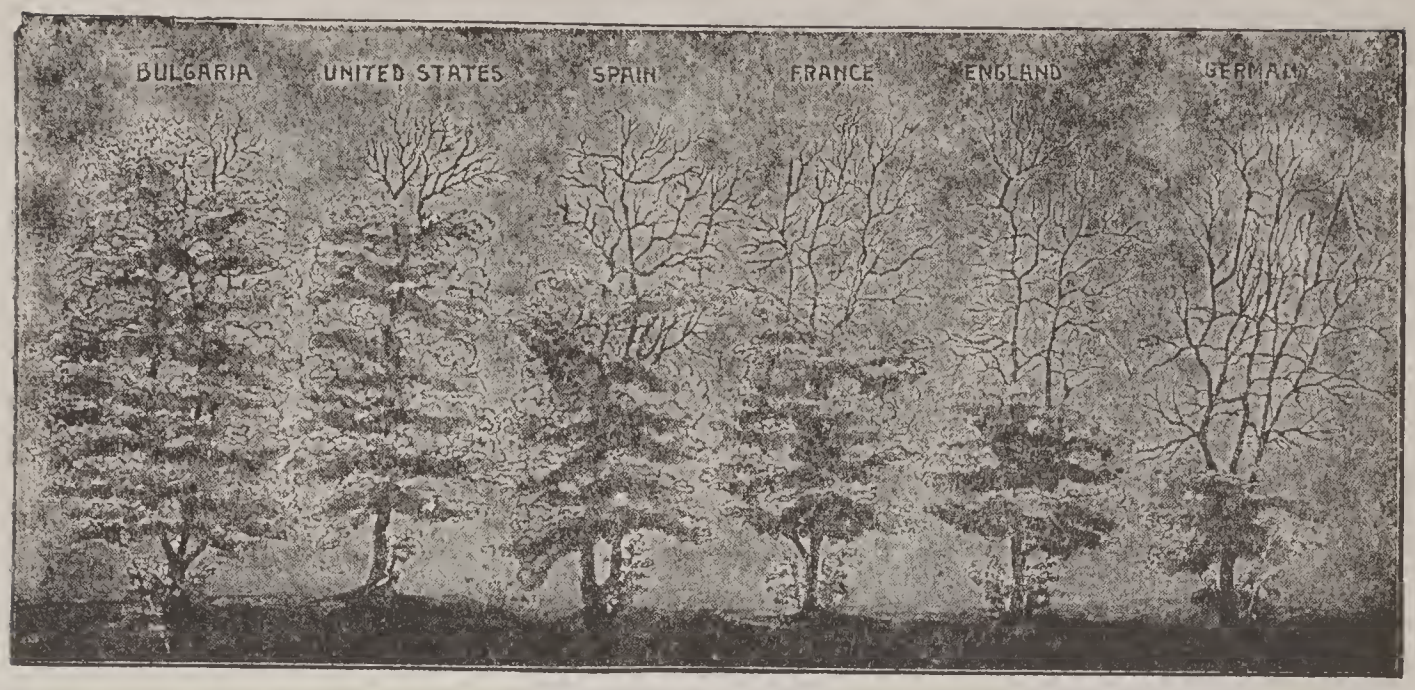
For Efficiency and Success, Abstain.

III. The Finger of Heredity.

A man may be willing to fly the motto for himself, "A short life and a happy one," and risk both health and property for fuddle and fellowship but not many who are fathers or mothers, or expect to be, will be indifferent when shown incontrovertible proofs that drinkers have fewer and weaker children than abstainers.

Prof. C. F. Hodge, of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts ("Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem"), selected from a litter of spaniels two little brothers exactly alike in infancy and brought them up, one as an alcoholic and the other as a total abstainer, giving the former only a small quantity of alcohol with his food, about equivalent in proportion to what benighted parents often give their children in beer or light wine mixed with water. From another litter of spaniels they selected two little sisters exactly alike in infancy and brought them up in the same way, one as an alcoholic, the other as a total abstainer. When the four dogs were grown they were mated, the two alcoholics together, and the total abstainers together, and the process was repeated. The two mothers and the offspring were placed under close scientific observation. Extraordinary phenomena set in with the alcoholic mother. She experienced difficulties and accidents, suffered great travail with pups and finally died in pupbirth with the fifth litter, a phenomena unknown before. Many of her offspring were born dead. Many of them died in infancy, and of those that survived only 17.7 per cent. were not deformed or defective. The little abstaining mother had no such experience. She bore large litters of pups, of which 90.5 per cent. were strong and healthy. Prof. Demme, of Berne, found almost the same proportion of normal offspring in the descendants of ten alcoholic families (17 per cent.) and ten temperate families (88.5 per cent.). See Chart below. A witness to the consequence of alcoholism in the father is Dr. L. O. Fuller, who presents what he believes to be the cause of many cases of inebriety, or chronic alcoholism, which reach the stage where the victims are recognized as diseased and treated as such. In tracing the parentage of these persons, it is found that their fathers, three times as often as their mothers, were alcoholics. They have inherited a state of nervous irritability which makes them more susceptible to alcohol than were their parents before them.





IV. The Finger of Patriotism.

In this connection we quote as of profound significance a statement of the Crown Prince of Sweden at the opening of the Good Templar Summer Festival, Hessllholm, 1910: "**That nation which is first to free itself from the injurious effects of alcohol will thereby attain a marked advantage over other nations in the amicable yet intensive struggle for existence.** I hope that our country will be the one which will first understand and secure this advantage."

Those words of the Crown Prince represent the fingers of hygiene and efficiency and heredity and patriotism, and they chime with words of the German Emperor in Feb. 1911: "**The nation which takes the smallest quantity of alcohol will win the battles of the future.**" Americans who have depended mostly on the argument of an intelligent self love in fighting the saloon as the foe of health and business prosperity should learn from the leaders in other lands the stronger grip of the arguments that bring in the force of heredity, patriotism and humanity. In France also the patriotic argument is foremost. Because France is a "dying nation," the government puts up posters (over) warning against tippling that falls short of drunkenness, "for the future of the nation." And the watchword of China's unexampled triumph over opium has been, "That China may be Strong."

Dr. J. H. Kellogg, before the European War, pictured the decay of nations in a stereopticon lecture by six trees dying at the top. Bulgaria had the least dead wood, representing the fact that one person in every thousand in that country lives to pass the 100 year mark, and not a few live for half a century longer. The United States comes next, but with only one centenarian in 25,000. Then the record grows worse and worse Spain, 44,000, France 190,000, England 200,000, Germany 700,000. It is not mere accident that the nation whose favorite drink is buttermilk stands at the head, while the nation which of all these countries is most given to beer drinking is the lowest in the group.

Alcohol, however, is not alone responsible for race degeneracy. Sex abuses have done quite as much in the destruction of nations; and sins of ignorance and of willful indulgence in eating must take a share of the blame, and also the habit-forming drugs that in less violent ways work with alcohol to undermine the health.

V. The Finger of Race Degeneracy.

Great Britain, too, takes up the patriotic argument, alarmed by the failure of 80 per cent of those who offered themselves for the Boer War to pass the examination, and puts up in a hundred British cities, "by order of the city government," warning posters headed,

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We hope many will have charts in this leaflet reproduced in size that can be seen in a large auditorium. Let them be about a yard wide and three to four feet long, preferably on white oil cloth, using both sides, and mounted like a light map to hold in hand, one by one. They shoud be shown in Sunday schools and public schools and out of school; and after or in place of the addresses these elaflets should be distributed from house to house, by adult volunteers going two and two. The International Reform Buerau is raising a fund to have such documents put in half the homes of the United States—later of the world, four times a year.

"ALCOHOLISM
and Physical Degeneracy."

which adds to the patriotic argument the yet larger warning against race degeneracy. As Congressman Hobson shows in his great speech on alcohol as "The Great Destroyer," degeneracy of the human race the world over is threatened in the widening markets of alcohol.

The chief purpose of the Brewers' World Congress held in Chicago in 1911 was to push the sale of beer in China, Korea, Japan and other lands that have been less cursed than the white races with this race poison. This beer extension movement, should arouse all Christian and all humane people to march in upon the revels of Alcohol and slay this foe of God and man.

Sir Andrew Clark, physician to Queen Victoria, said that when he looked at the hospital wards, and saw that seven out of ten owed their diseases to alcohol, and when he thought of all the other evils wrought by drink, he felt impelled to give up his profession, "to give up everything and go forth upon a holy crusade, preaching to all men, 'Beware of this enemy of the race.'" If we cannot give up everything to do this grand and necessary work, can we not give a little time, a little work, a little money, an earnest prayer, a few words, a good example, a temperance vote?

Surely I need not say that the state should do more than warn the people against a traffic that imperils the nation.

Scientific experiments at Yale, with others, have prompted President Hadley to say that if the American people knew what alcohol really is they would banish every saloon from the land. Why shouldn't the churches take up that word of President Hadley and make known to all the fact, declared by Prof. C. F. Hodge of Clark University and others, that alcohol is the "waste product" of a microbe.

It will require only the faithful teaching of the effects of alcohol on the brain to the generation now in Sunday schools and public schools to create a social conscience that will cause the Supreme Court, in accord with its own dictum that "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals; the people themselves can not do it, much less their servants" (94 U. S. 645), to adopt the Artman decision that **all licenses for the sale of intoxicating beverages are unconstitutional and void.**

ALCOHOLISM AND PHYSICAL DEGENERACY.

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY."

Alcoholism is the chronic poisoning which results from the habitual use of alcohol, even when the latter would not produce drunkenness.

It is an error to say that alcohol is necessary to workmen who engage in fatiguing labor; that it gives heart to work, or that it repairs strength. The artificial excitation which it produces gives place very quickly to nervous depression and feebleness.

The habit of drinking entails disaffection from the family, forgetfulness of all duties to society, distaste for work, misery, theft and crime. It leads at the last to the hospital, for alcohol engenders the most varied maladies; paralysis, lunacy, disease of the stomach and liver, dropsy. It is one of the most frequent causes of tuberculosis. Finally, it complicates and aggravates all acute maladies. Typhoid fever, pneumonia, erysipelas, which would be mild in the case of a sober man, quickly carry off the alcoholic drinker. The hygienic faults of parents fall upon their children. If the latter survive the first months they are threatened with idiocy or epilepsy, or, still worse, they are carried off a little later by tuberculosis, meningitis or phthisis.

For the health of the individual, for the existence of the family, for the future of the nation, alcohol is one of the most terrible scourges.

(The five paragraphs above are from posters put up by French city governments to check national decay that has led to deaths exceeding births, except that heading is from British posters, the French being "Alcoholism, Its Dangers." What follows is from British Parliamentary Report on Physical Deterioration, prompted by failure of majority of candidates for enlistment in British Army to pass examinations. In consequence, British city governments post these extracts as a warning, not only in Great Britain as a cure but also in athletic Australia as a preventative. For one or other of these reasons such a warning should be posted in every city and town of the world, and read in the schools.)

The continued use of alcohol, whether in form of beer, wine or spirits, even though not to the extent of drunkenness, often leads to chronic poisoning.

Of 61,215 people the average deaths per year by insurance tables will be 1,000. Of 61,215 liquor sellers, the death average is 1,642. Of 61,215 Rechabites (abstainers) the death average is 560.

Sir Frederick Treves, Physician to King Edward, declares that alcohol is an insiduous poison, and should be subject to the same strict limitations as opium, morphia or strychnine, and that its supposed stimulating effects are delusive.

Respectfully submitted for consideration of citizens by.....Mayor.

(Or it might be signed by health officer or superintendent of schools or put up in behalf of some civic club. See also note over.)

Scientific Testimony on Beer.

From Speech by Senator J. H. Gallinger, M. D., Congressional Record, Jan. 9, 1901.

Opinions of Leading Physicians.

The alarming growth of the use of beer among our people, and the spreading delusion among many who consider themselves temperate and sober, that the encouragement of beer drinking is an effective way of promoting the cause of temperance and of aiding to stamp out the demon rum, impelled the Toledo Blade to send a representative to a number of the leading physicians of Toledo to obtain their opinions as to the real damage which indulgence in malt liquors does the victim of that form of intemperance.

Every one is not only a gentleman of the highest personal character, but is a physician whose professional abilities have been severely tested, and received the stamp of the highest indorsement by the public and their professional brethren. More skilful physicians are not to be found anywhere. We have not selected those of known temperance principles. What they say of beer is not colored by any feeling for or against temperance, but is the cold, bare experience of men of science who know whereof they speak.

A Beer Drinking City.

Toledo is essentially, a beer drinking city. The German population is very large. Five of the largest breweries in the country are here. Probably more beer is drunk, in proportion to the population, than in any other city in the United States. The practice of these physicians is, therefore, largely among beer drinkers, and they have had abundant opportunities to know exactly its bearings on health and disease.

Every one bears testimony that no man can drink beer safely, that it is an injury to any one who uses it in any quantity, and that its effect on the general health of the country has been even worse than that of whiskey. The indictment they with one accord present against beer drinking is simply terrible.

The devilfish crushing a man in his long winding arms, and sucking his blood from his mangled body, is not so frightful an assailant as this deadly but insidious enemy, which fastens itself upon its victim, and daily becomes more and more the wretched man's master, and finally dragging him to his grave at a time when other men are in their prime of mental and bodily vigor.

Beer Kills Quicker Than Other Liquor.

Dr. S. H. Burgen, a practitioner 35 years, 28 in Toledo, says: "I think beer kills quicker than any other liquor. My attention was first called to its insidious effects when I began examining for life insurance. in an hour, and 24 hours in a day, and add I passed as unusually good risks five Germans—young business men—who seemed in the best of health, and to have superb constitutions. In a few years I was amazed to see the whole five drop off, one after another, with what ought to have been mild and easily curable diseases. On comparing my experience with that of other physicians I found they were all having similar luck with confirmed beer drinkers, and my practice since has heaped confirmation on confirmation.

"The first organ to be attacked is the kidneys; the liver soon sympathizes, and then comes, most frequently, dropsy or Bright's disease, both certain to end fatally. Any physician, who cares to take the time, will tell you that among the dreadful results of beer drinking are lockjaw and erysipelas, and that the beer drinker seems incapable of recovering from mild disorders and injuries not usually regarded of a grave character. Pneumonia, pleurisy, fevers, etc., seem to have a first mortgage on him, which they foreclose remorselessly at an early opportunity.

Beer Worse Than Whiskey.

"The beer drinker is much worse off than the whiskey drinker, who seems to have more elasticity and reserve power. He will even have deliriumn tremens; but after the fit is gone you will sometimes find good material to work upon. Good management may bring him around all right But whe.n a beer drinker gets into trouble it seems almost as if you have to recreate the man before you can do anything for him. I have talked this for years, and have had abundance of living and dead instances around me to support my opinions."

Beer Drinking Shortens Life

Dr. S. S. Lungren, a leading homeopathic physician and surgeon, has practiced in Toledo 25 years: "It is difficult to find any part of the confirmed beer drinker's machinery that is doing its work as it should. This is why their life cords snap off like glass rods when disease or accident gives them a little blow. Beer drinking shortens life. This is not a mere opinion; it is a well settled recognized fact. Physicians and insurance companies accept this as unquestionably as any other undisputed fact of science. The great English physicians decide that the heart's action is increased 13 per cent. in its efforts to throw off alcohol introduced into the circulation. The result is easily figured out. The natural pulse-beat is, say, 76 per minute. If we multiply this by 60 minutes

13 per cent., we find that the heart has been compelled to do an extra work during that time in throwing off the burden of a few drinks (4.8 ounces of alcohol) equal to 15.5 tons lifted one foot high."

Life Insurance Companies

"The life insurance companies make a business of estimatng men's lives, and can only make money by making correst estimates of whatever influences life. Here is a table they use in calculating how long a normal, healthy man will probably live after a given age:

Age	Expectancy	Age	Expectancy
20 years,	41.5 years	50 years,	20.2 years
30 years,	34.4 years	60 years,	13.8 years
40 years,	28.3 years	65 years,	11 years

"Now they expect a man otherwise healthy, who is addicted to beer, will have his life shortened from 40 to 60 per cent. For instance, if he is 20 years old and does not drink beer, he may reasonably expect to reach the age of 61. If he is a beer drinker, he will probably not live to be over 40 or 45, and so on."

Beer Drinking and Longevity

The President of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company—one of the oldest in the country—has for years been investigating the relation of beer drinking to longevity; or otherwise, whether beer drinkers are desirable risks to a life insurance company.

He declared, as a result of a series of observations carried on among a selected group of persons who were habitual drinkers of beer, that although for two or three years there was nothing remarkable, yet presently death began to strike, and then the mortality became astounding and uniform in its manifestations. There was no mistaking it; the history was almost invariable; robust, apparent health, full muscles, a fair outside, increasing weight, florid faces; then a touch of cold or a sniff of malaria, and instantly some acute disease, with almost invariable typhoid symptoms, was in violent action, and ten days or less ended it. It was as if the system had been kept fair on the outside, while within it was eaten to a shell, and at the first touch of disease there was utter collapse, every fibre was poisoned and weak. And this in its main features, varying in degree, has been his observation in beer drinking everywhere. It is peculiarly deceptive at first; it is thoroughly destructive at the last.

Beer Drinkers Unpromising Patients

Dr. J. T. Woods: "The confirmed beer drinkers are especially unpromising patients, all practical surgeons agree."

Dr. S. S. Lungren: "Alcohol invites attacks of disease, and makes recovery from any attack or injury difficult."

Dr. C. A. Kirkley: "Sickness is always more fatal in beer drinkers, and serious accidents are usually fatal to them."

Dr. S. H. Burgen: "Beer drinkers are absolutely the most dangerous class of subjects a surgeon can operate on. Insignificant scratches are liable to develop a long train of dangerous troubles. Sometimes delirium tremens results from a small hurt. It is dangerous for a beer dringer to even cut his finger. All surgeons hesitate to perform operations on a beer drinker that they would undertake with the greatest confidence on anyone else."

"A Little Circle of Doctors"

Dr. S. S. Throne: "If you could drop into a little circle of doctors, when they are having a quiet, professional chat, you would hear enough in a few minutes to terrify you as to the work of beer. One will say, 'What's become of So-and-So? I haven't seen him around lately?' 'Oh, he's dead.' 'Dead! What was the matter?' 'Beer.' Another will say, 'I've just come from Bank's. I am afraid its about my last call on him, poor fellow.' 'What's the trouble?' 'Oh, he's been a regular beer drinker for years.' A third will remark how —— has just gone out like a candle in a draft of wind. 'Beer' is the reason given. And so on, till half a dozen physicians have mentioned fifty recent cases where apparently strong, healthy men, at a time of life when they should be in their prime, have suddenly dropped into the grave. To say they are habitual beer drinkers is sufficient explanation to any physician."

Beer Drinking Produces Rheumatism

Dr. W. T. Ridenour: "Beer drinking produces rheumatism by producing chronic congestion and ultimately degeneration of the liver, thus interfering with its function by which the food is elaborated and fitted for the sustenance of the body."

Dr. S. H. Burgen: "All beer drinkers have rheumatism, more or less, and no one can recover from it as long as he drinks beer. Notice how a beer drinker walks about stiff on his heels, without any of the natural elasticity and spring from the toes and ball of the foot that a healthy man should have. That is because the beer increases the lithia deposits about the smaller joints."

Beer Cripples the Liver

Dr. S. H. Burgen: "The first effect on the liver is to congest and enlarge it. Then follows a low grade of inflamation and subsequent contraction of the capsules, producing 'hob-nailed' or drunkard's liver, the surface covered with little lumps

This leaflet 35c. per 100, International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C. "World Book of Temperance," $1.00.

that look like nail heads on the soles of shoes. This develops dropsy. The congestion of the liver clogs up all the springs of the body, and makes all sorts of exertion as difficult and labored as it would be to run a clock, the wheels of which were covered with dirt and gum."

Liable to Die of Pneumonia

Dr. W. T. Ridenour: "Beer drinkers are peculiarly liable to die of pneumonia. Their vital power, their power of resist ance, is so lowered that they are liable to drop off from any form of acute disease, such as fevers, pneumonia, etc. As a rule when a beer drinker takes the pneumonia, he dies.

"My first patient was a saloon keeper, as fine a looking man physically as I had ever seen—tall, well built, about thirty-five, with clear eyes, florid complexion, muscles well developed. He had an attack of pneumonia in the lower lobe of the right lung, a simple, well defined case, which I regarded very hopefully. Doctors are confident of saving nineteen out of twenty such case. I told my partner so in the evening. To my surprise he said quietly, 'He'll die.' I asked what made him think so. 'He is a beer drinker,' he answered. My patient began to recover from the attack on the lower lobe. Suddenly the disease lighted up in the middle lobe. Finally it attacked the other lung, and my patient succumbed."

Dropsy Induced by Beer Drinking

Dr. M. H. Parmalee, physician and surgeon twelve years in Toledo, says: "The majority of saloon keepers die from dropsy, arising from kidney and liver diseases, induced by beer drinking. My experience has been that saloon keepers and men working around breweries are very liable to these diseases. When one of those apparently stalwart, beery fellows is attacked by a disorder that would not be regarded as at all dangerous in a person of ordinary constitution, or even a delicate, weakly child or woman, he is liable to drop off like an over-ripe apple from a tree. You are never sure of him a minute. He may not be dangerously sick today, and tomorrow be in his shroud. Most physicians, like myself, dread being called upon to take charge of a sick man who is an habitual beer drinker. The form of Bright's disease known as the swollen or large white kidney is much more frequent among beer drinkers than any other class of people."

Insanity Caused by Beer Drinking

Dr. S. S. Lungren: "The brain and its membranes suffer severely, and after irritation and inflammation comes dullness and stupidity. There is no question in my mind that many brain diseases and cases of insanity are caused by excessive beer drinking."

Dr. C. A. Kirkley: "Under its influence the mental powers are more inactive than the physical. There is hardly a single cause that operates more powerfully in the production of insanity; and not only that, but it excites the action of other causes that may be present."

Bright's Disease Due to Beer

Dr. W. T. Ridenour: "I have no doubt the rapid spread of Bright's disease is largely due to beer drinking. I have all ways believed that Bayard Taylor fell a victim to the German beer that he praised so highly. He died of Bright's disease at 50, when he should have lived, with his constitution, to a ripe old age. He went just as beer drinkers are going all the time and everywhere."

Dr. C. A. Kirkley: "I believe that forty-nine out of fifty cases of chronic Bright's disease are directly produced by it. I have never met with a case in which the patient has not been intemperate to a greater or less degree. The proportion may be too high, but that is certainly my experience. Mr. Christian, a celebrated author, states that three-fourths to four-fifths of the cases met with in Edinburgh were in habitual drunkards."

An Artificial Prop

Dr. C. A. Kirkley, in constant practice in Toledo 15 years, says: "I do not believe the healthy organism needs an artificial prop to sustain it. Depression below the standard of health always follows just in proportion as the system is stimulated above that standard. Every physician is familiar with cases in which nervous wear and tear in an active life has been kept up by stimulants without apparent loss of power for years. Bodily and mental vigor, however, suddenly fail. The repeated application of the stimulus that the exertion might be prolonged has really expended the power of the nervous system, and prepared him for more complete prostration. The temporary advantage was purchased at a great cost. The greater the expenditure of nervous power by the use of stimulants, the more complete the exhaustion."

Children of Drunkards—Idiots

Dr. C. A. Kirkley: "Plutarch says, 'One drunkard begets another;' and Aristotle, 'Drunken women bring forth children like unto themselves.' A report was made to the legislature of Massachusetts I think by Dr. Howe, on idiocy. He had learned the habits of the parents of 300 idiots, and 145, nearly half, are reported as known to be habitual drunkards, showing the enfeebled constitution of the children of drunkards. I have in mind an instance where children born to the mother begotten when the father was intoxicated, all died within eight month of birth. They

would have recovered, had they not had the enfeebled constitution inherited from their intemperate father. Instances are recorded where both parents were intoxicated at the time of conception, and the result was an idiot. There is not a doubt but that inebriety not only makes more destructive whatever taint may exist, but impairs the health and natural vigor for remote generations."

Dr. A. McFarland: "That 'the inquities of the fathers are visited upon the children;' that 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge,' are truths that no Scripture is needed to teach. In other words, he who sins through physical excess does not do half the harm to himself that he does to the inhertors of his blood. The penalty must be paid as sure as there is seed time and harvest.

"It is your stout old hero, who goes to bed every night with liquor enough under his belt to fuddle the brains of a half dozen ordinary men, and yet lives out his three-score and ten, that will be found at the head of the stock that pour into the world, generation after generation, such a crop of lunatics, epileptics, eccentrics, and inebriates as we often see. The impunity with which one so constituted will violate all physical laws gets its set-off in a succeeding generation, when the great harvest begins."

Dr. J. T. Woods: "That beer is foreign to nature's demand is plainly evident. The whole organism at once sets about its removal. Every channel through which it can be got rid of is brought into play, and does not cease till the last trace is gone. Reaching a certain end depends only on the frequency of the repetition. The whole is made up of the parts; every drink counts one. These 'ones' added together make the wreck; to secure this result it is only necessary to make the single numbers sufficient. Each leaves its footprints in one way or another; and the idea that, because you stop before you stagger, the system takes no note of the damaging material you put into it is a ruinous delusion."

Dr. S. H. Burgen: "I have told you the frozen truth—cold, calm, scientific facts, such as the profession everywhere recognizes as absolute truths. I do not regard beer drinking as safe for any one."

"THE BREWERS' BIG HOSSES CAN'T RUN OVER ME"

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By Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph. D. Published by International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C. These extra pages 20 cents, postpaid. Whole book 50 cents, postpaid. $35 per 100 copies, carriage postpaid.

(This is a hint in the rough how argument for total abstinence and prohibition might be adapted to present situation in China. It is also pertinent to other lands.)

Will China Become the Dump of Our Cast-Off Breweries?

At a banquet in Shanghai, given in honor of President C. W. Eliot, of Harvard University, who was touring the world, two missionaries were conspicuous as the only guests that did not join in the wine drinking. An American lawyer sitting next, chided them for what he regarded as unnecessary self-denial. One of the missionaries replied: "You may have the jollier time tonight, but I will be the better man tomorrow." The lawyer laughed him to scorn, but President Eliot turned on the lawyer and said, in substance: "Modern science is against you. Recent experiments show that when a man drinks he borrows from his future efficiency."

(See pp. 81, 82, 61, 118.)

Liquor Traffic Imperils Democracy.

That brings us to a still more fundamental reason for excluding liquors from a country, especially a democracy, namely, that **the liquor traffic wherever it goes forms an unholy league of commercialized vices and commercialized politics, and then, by secret manipulation, terrifying business men, influencing politicians, secures in many cases the absolute control of government, destroying democracy as surely as it is destroyed by personal autocracy.**

On the Delaware and Lackawanna Railroad an accident occurred which caused the death of forty people and much destruction of property, for which the railroad had to pay heavy damages. In consequence, drinking by employees was forbidden. But the United States Brewers Association, as was shown in the Senate investigation, put a boycott on the railroad because of this requirement of abstinence. The Blackstone Hotel, in Chicago, was boycotted because it closed on Sunday in obedience to law. Hundreds of cases of secret and criminal interference with civic rights of citizens and officials are shown by the Senate investigation. The stenographic report of these revelations will be sent to the democracies of Europe, old and new, to prove that THE TOLERATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC BRINGS SOMETHING WORSE THAN HYGIENIC AND ECONOMIC INJURY—THE NULLIFICATION OF DEMOCRACY ITSELF. Senator Sheppard well said in a letter to the International Reform Bureau: "Worldwide prohibition should go with worldwide democracy, making the latter safe and strong and pure."

See China in Alphabetical Index at end of book.

It is said by some that China does not need prohibition, having never developed such a degree of drunkenness as is common among white races. A conclusive answer is the case of India, which was even less given to drink than China a few years ago, being fortified against it by three total-abstinence religions—Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan. But through British promotion of the traffic for profit and revenue, the drinking by natives in India has increased by leaps and bounds. It will be so in China, no doubt, if the cast-off brewers of the United States are allowed to introduce not only their machinery but their machinations into China. "Prevention is better than cure." **China should at least prohibit any building or owning or operating of breweries or distilleries by foreigners.** And when sentiment is sufficiently developed there should be prohibition of liquor selling.

China should not allow herself to be fooled with the delusion that alcohol in beer and wine is relatively harmless. The same amount of alcohol may be imbibed in one pint of wine, two pints of beer, or three ounces of whiskey. The form in which the alcohol is taken is nothing more than three suits of clothes for the same burglar.

The United States Has Tried Everything and Only Prohibition Helps.

The United States has suffered infinitely in loss of life and property from a hundred years of experimenting with low license and high license and government ownership and disinterested management, and after all these experiments, which should suffice for the whole world, has settled down to the fact that the only laws that even reduce the evils of the liquor traffic are the various forms of prohibition. Local option, though helpful, has proved too local and too optional. State-wide prohibition has helped yet more but has been much hindered by anarchistic liquor invasions from "wet" border States. Why should other nations repeat these experiments? Let them strike at once for nationwide bone-dry prohibition, or at least for State or Provincial prohibition.

Even Moderate Use of Mild Liquors Increases Social Diseases.

The fact has been brought out all through this war that venereal diseases, which the public has learned at last are the worst of all, are related closely, as effect to cause, to the use of intoxicating liquors, especially wine and beer. It has been shown that it is not the man who is drunk on hard liquors that is most in danger of these diseases, but the man who is slightly exhilerated by wine or beer. Grit, of Australia, reports that Lieut. Col. Thomas W. Gibbard, testifying before British Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, called attention to a reduction in beer consumption of 38 per cent., which was followed by a reduction of 45 per cent in venereal diseases, and 58 per cent. in alcoholism. This is but one of a multitude of proofs of the same fact.

There is scarcely an evil that prohibition does not decrease, whether in the body or the body politic. The world is planning to prohibit future wars by international action. After a few more national prohibitions of intoxicants, we may hope a world congress will prohibit for all lands then "wet" an evil long since declared by Gladstone more harmful to the world than "war, pestilence and famine."

As the United States, having prohibited drink, is now strengthening its prohibition of opiates, so China, having nobly prohibited dope, should also prohibit drink.

The International Reform Bureau asks the co-operation of all Americans everywhere to whom this message comes in petitioning Congress to embody in the national prohibition enforcement law a declaration that all Americans in China under exterritoriality are subject to national prohibition as to all other national American laws, and triable for violations in the American Court in China.

(Just a hint in the rough for an introduction of the prohibition argument in the new democracies of central Europe.)

Prohibition for the Democracies of Europe

Surely it must mean much to you, the new democracies of Europe, that in the United States, whose President uttered that great phrase "the self determination of peoples," which was your north star of liberty when the war had scarcely passed its midnight, national prohibition for the demobilization period has been followed by ratification of national constitutional prohibition.

The unselfish and effective participation of the United States in a war whose purpose was to make the world safe for democracies however small and weak, has confuted those who have said that Americans are wholly dominated by commercialism, and you are therefore ready to give due weight to the prohibition verdict as that of a sane democracy which for more than a century has made sincere experiments with low license, high license, government ownership, and disinterested management, and has fully concluded that "bone dry" prohibition and total abstinence, with no exceptions for beer and wine in either case, is the only effective remedy for the admitted evils of the drink habit and the drink traffic.

Retail statistics of improvements in towns and States under prohibition are hardly necessary, though abundant (pp. 70-87, 110-114).

The wholesale argument for prohibition is THAT AN INTELLIGENT PEOPLE, AFTER TRYING ALL THE REMEDIES THAT ARE NOW PROPOSED ELSEWHERE AS SUBSTITUTES FOR PROHIBITION, HAS CAST THEM ALL ASIDE FOREVER BY PUTTING PROHIBITION INTO THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, FROM WHICH IT WILL BE PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO DISLODGE IT, FOR THAT WOULD INVOLVE A TURNING BACK OF THE TIDES OF MORAL PROGRESS IN THREE FOURTHS OF THE STATES.

The greatest of established democracies has banished the traffic and use of beer, wine, and stronger drinks. What good reason can be given why all democracies should not do likewise? On the other hand the reasons why they should do the same include, besides the argument that prohibition promotes health and industry, the higher patriotic argument, **that only by prohibition can a democracy escape from the secret domination of the liquor interests.**

The International Reform Bureau, of Washington, D. C., is making arrangements for the translation into many tongues of a digest of the Senate investigation of the brewers' political plots in the United States which connect up with similar plots by similar organizations in France and Great Britain. Now that the world is rid of Hun autocracy, the greatest menace to democracy remaining is this liquor domination in politics. Britain at the Peace Conference will claim to have managed her colonies for the good of both parties. The one conspicuous refusal to do that has been the debauchery of natives of Africa, and even of India, where good politics as well as good morals should have suggested consideration for three total-abstinence religions. The explanation is that the liquor power in politics, "King Alcohol's rule," is hardly a limited monarchy. He certainly is not in either France or Britain a king that

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See Europe in Alphabetical Index at end of book.

"reigns but does not rule." Dr. Saleeby said, when Lloyd George's war prohibition declaration failed to become law: "We are no longer ruled by King and Parliament, but are a brewer-ruled nation."

The wine and brandy interests have not only dominated French politics but also reached out and vetoed Finland prohibition through threats to refuse loans to Russia, and in the contest for war prohibition in the United States the strong hand of the French liquor power put on the brakes.

In the United States the liquor power in politics was able to defeat war prohibition twice when public opinion was about to be crystalized in a law of Congress, and so it came to pass that when we reached the period of demobilization and reconstruction in November, 1918, war prohibition had been placed seven and a half months away—for which many a young soldier will pay in a ruined life and many a community in bloody riots.

"THE LIQUOR BUSINESS," SAYS THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, "HAS BEEN A FAITHFUL ALLY OF EVERY VICIOUS ELEMENT IN AMERICAN LIFE; IT HAS PROTECTED CRIMINALS; IT HAS FOSTERED SOCIAL EVILS; AND IT HAS **BRIBED POLITICIANS AND LEGISLATURES.**"

The supreme peril of the liquor traffic for smaller republics is seen in the humiliation it has put upon the three best democracies of the world. It would be madness not to see also their supreme fault and avoid it.

If I were asked to name the worst work of the drink curse I should not point to the drunkard nor to a victim of delirium tremens but I should point to the two best democracies in the world and their two greatest men, and show how the liquor power in politics had through those two greatest men of our age saved the liquor traffic from the people's wrath when the waste of food and fuel and transportation and money and man power jeopardised the issues of our great war in those crucial hours when we fought with our backs to the wall.

The United States alone of the three has thrown off its greatest oppressor. We can get little benefit from our tardy investigation of the brewers. It is but a revelation of the devices of a foe already sentenced to death. But to all other democracies, old and new, the Senate investigation shows clearly the treasonable methods by which an active foe will control their politics in his own interest if not banished by prohibition.

A Lesson From Russia.

As Russia's first act, on declaring war, was to strike down the vodka foe in the rear by prohibition, so the first act of the new democracies should be to banish this secret foe, that government by the brewers for the brewers may not cause "government of the people, by the people, for the people to perish from the earth."

Russia's prohibition has been eclipsed by the prevailing anarchy, but no one can blot out the unanswerable argument for prohibition of that wonderful first year, when the Russian people deposited more in one month in the savings banks than in the whole preceding "wet" year, with such other benefits that the Chancellor of the Russian Exchequer said: "RUSSIA WITHOUT VODKA AND WITH WAR IS BETTER OFF THAN RUSSIA WITH VODKA AND WITHOUT WAR." It is generally conceded that Russia would never have thrown off Czarism if it had not first thrown off vodka. The reverse is true, that a democracy in which drink drowns aspiration is likely to go back to autocracy when a man on horseback, of strong personality, determines to be master. A monarchy may go on with a drunken people, but many drunken republics are in the graveyard of dead nations.

A Warning From Germany.

While the United States and Russia beckon new republics to prohibition by example, Germany's fate points the same way. Years ago, Miss Frances E. Willard, LL. D., leader of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, when speaking of Germans soaking themselves with beer even while they wrote commentaries on the Bible, with no slightest sense of the incongruity of the two acts, said: "TO THEM THE ARREST OF THOUGHT HAS NOT COME."

Surely, this war should bring "the arrest of thought" to all beer-drinking countries by its exhibition of the stolid cruelty to which a whole nation can be brought by beer drinking from childhood. Scientists tell us that "every drop of beer kills a cell"—and the cells destroyed are the most precious cells at the top of the brain, the latest apple blossoms, so to speak, that civilization adds to the savage brain, unselfishness and justice and conscience. When these are blasted by alcohol's affinity for these most liquid nerve tissues, what is left is the old brutal savage brain of the days when pagan white savages roamed "the Black Forest." This is not the whole explanation of German cruelty, perpetrated by soldiers but glorified by professors and preachers also. German infidelity played its part, and a false education did its share. But the beer garden was unquestionably one of the influences that, first of all, made it possible to keep a people second to none in education, in the political nursery, under the care of kings and queens; and then made it possible for the whole German people to determine to despotize over all other races.

In the United States it has been fully shown that the brewers, mostly German, tore up American laws as "scraps of paper" and attempted despotic control of politics in their own selfish interest, and at the same time sent money to Germany, even after the Lusitania murders; and sought by secret intrigues to prevent the United States from entering the war to rid sea and land of such piracy.

War-Devastated Europe Can Not Afford the Wasteful Drink Traffic.

Another mighty reason for prohibition in all the fraternal democracies of the world is that millions are starving and we can not afford now nor for years to come to waste food and fuel and transportation and man power by making and selling and drinking liquors. Almost every foreign nation is asking the United States for food and gifts or loans, which can be spared only by sacrifice or risk.

Is it fair, when America has given up alcoholic beverages in large part because the war has shown the wastefulness of drink, to waste food and money in self-indulgence instead of using the surplus for feeding and rebuilding our war-devastated world?

There was much of human interest and a powerful home defense argument in the description given in Philadelphia North American of the near riot among workmen, mostly from central Europe, that were cut off from their saloon resorts when a five-mile dry zone was put about the Frankford Arsenal in that city to protect the government workers. During the bedlam a woman strong of mein and muscle appeared She forced a way through the crowd and grasped a man—"her man"—by the arm:

"Get on home, you drunken loafer," she cried. "You've had enough this night."

"One drink—may be two—is all right for a working man, said a man who looked on while he quietly smoked. "But saloon no good for married man. Wife and children they get no clothes—no shoes. All go in drink. Some say no right to close. Maybe so—maybe not. Me no drink. Me got food in house."

Even Moderate Drinking Hinders Self-Determination.

Address at Dantzig in 1919 by Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, Now President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

I come from an alcohol-drenched part of Moravia, the Moravian Wallachei. Any one who has had the opportunity of observing the workings of mass-alcoholism as it obtains there, will understand how to judge excuses and palliations. Drinking or not drinking signifies today a decisive choice between two wholly different ways of looking at life. Alcoholism stands for a chronic process of degeneration of the whole interior life, and represents, obviously, a sub-ethical and anti-ethical state of individual and of society.

We demand energy of men today. We wish to be and to have men of strong wills. In earlier days this was not so. Diligence and endurance and especially obedience and belief, i. e., belief in others, in the leading few, were required and preached. But the modern man must determine his own course, must control himself and assist in the systematic transformation of our complicated social life. Courage and initiative—these are the watchwords of the reform-hungry present. Self-determination and self-control are the great demands of the modern ethic, and by this ethic alcoholism is judged and condemned. For it weakens, superficializes and deteriorates the power of apprehension, undermines the capacity for thinking, endangers the activities of the fancy by stimulating a bizarre and indistinct phantasmagoria, weakens will and the sense of accountability.

No man has a natural craving for alcohol poison. Especially should the educated give the example. In the present stage of our scientific knowledge about alcohol, a physician, teacher or educator who tolerates drinking commits a crime. It is incumbent on the educated and leading circles to destroy the alcohol superstition, theoretically by enlightenment of the people, and practically by abstinence.

Modern investigation indubitably teaches that drinking corrupts the sex life of our day. Alcoholism and prostitution are the chief factors in the degradation of nations. Even moderate drinking of the parent, if continued, is paid for by the child. The heritage from grosser alcoholism is naturally the more dangerous. "Honour thy father and mother." Certainly! But today we must add, "guard and respect the soul of thy child."

It is the duty of every thoughtful man to co-operate actively in the regeneration of his people. The cost of alcohol in human life far exceeds that of war and the victims of alcoholism do not die out. They drag miserably through a sick life and transmit their decay to the following generations. We in Austria complain of the cost of militarism and spend three times as much on alcohol. In Germany one-third of the expenditure for food goes for this unnecessary, injurious, corrupting liquor.

Alcholism and prostitution are the chief factors in the degeneration of nations. The efforts for the regeneration of the human race on the part of the most important thinkers, from Rousseau to Wagner, will be finally turned into practical channels by the anti-alcohol movement. It is not merely a concern of mechanical abstinence but of the progress of mankind to a higher development and to higher ideals.

(This is just a hint, in the rough, of how the argument for total abstinence and prohibition might be introduced in Spain and Spanish Americas.)

Prohibition For Latin Americas

A world map of prohibition in black and white, (p. 63) published during Russia's first year of national prohibition—the first year of national prohibition anywhere—showed more than half the world white (p. 63). Russia's prohibition made more than half of Europe white, and more than half of Asia. India was represented on the map as white because of its three prohibition religions, Hindu, Buddhist, and Mohammedan, to which prohibition the majority of her people are still loyal, notwithstanding the shameful temptations set for them by British greed for profit and revenue, embodied in a license system. Prohibition for Mohammedans is the virtue of Turkey. Iceland and Greenland and the Faroe Islands are white on the map. Scandanavia and Australasia were both half white, signifying local option, with considerable local prohibition. On the American continent Canada and the United States were mostly white, with assurance they would soon be wholly so. Mexico had three white provinces, and Porto Rico* had voted prohibition.

But in that map South America stood out as the only continent wholly black. That was not because South America is the most drunken part of the world. It was really due in part to the fact that **Spain and Spanish countries are less given to drunkenness than any other white race.** The writer heard Mrs. Gordon Gulick, President for thirty years of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Spain, say to a Committee of Congress that in all that time she had "seen only one prostrate drunkard." And she had been looking for them. Countries which started as colonies of Spain are also less given to drink than British and Americans. That is the very reason they have given less attention to prohibition. Most people only wake up to suppress an evil when it becomes intolerable.

It is a mistake, however, to assume that drink is only harmful when it makes its victim helpless. Modern scientific studies of alcohol proclaim that the most moderate, even microscopic drinking lowers efficiency of body and mind, diminishes both strength and alertness. (See pp. 81, 82.)

All belligerents in the world war recognized that drink is a hindrance to both military and individual efficiency, and they either cut it down or cut it out. See p. 20ff.)

In the strenuous contests of commerce that have come with peace all over our war-wasted world, no nation can afford to handicap its leaders and workers with fuddled brains. (See p. 61.)

SOUTH AMERICA WILL HAVE TO COMPETE IN WORLDWIDE COMMERCE WITH A SOBER NORTH AMERICA.

The man who drinks at night can not think as quickly "the morning after." A bottle of light wine at breakfast, Aschaffenburg found, (see p. 119) cuts down industrial efficiency in typesetting, on the average, about nine per cent. President C. W. Eliot was converted to the belief that even the most gentlemanly moderation in

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* The interesting story of how the native people of Porto Rico, after the International Reform Bureau had secured from Congress a referendum on prohibition, took up the battle in their own behalf and carried it to victory, with little outside help, is fully told in a pamphlet that includes their quaint but effective cartoons. This we shall be glad to send to any one who applies with a postage stamp of any country. See also Latin-America in Index at end of book.

drinking is "inexpedient," by laboratory experiments showing the effects of drinking even a little pure wine or beer (see pp. 81, 82); for example, a man is placed at a table with two electric bells numbered 1 and 2. If a blue light is thrown up he is to strike as quickly as possible, bell No. 1; if a red light, bell No. 2. He does this several times wholly free from wine. Then he is given a glass of wine, and the time test is made again, with the result that his time reaction, the time required to think which bell goes with the light thrown up, is several seconds slower—enough to wreck a train if he was an engineer in his cab watching the signals in his swift run. Such facts led railroads in the United States, and many other business firms, long ago, to discriminate in employment against even moderate drinkers. And now when peace makes labor again abundant, it will again be the rule in the United States that the last man hired and the first man fired will be the man who is loaded.

If it is good business in the United States to abstain and require abstinence, is it good business for a sister continent, having opportunity for an equal share in this new era in the world's markets, to allow the promoters of drinking to go on tempting its workers to waste their money and clog their brains?

It should be considered also that British and American insurance tables show that the years which alcohol will kill in the average drinker, namely from 51 to 64,, are the very years that are most valuable commercially and otherwise to a man and to his family and to his country—the years also when men who have lived worthily become presidents of colleges, of banks, of corporations,—of their country.

North America's Cast-Off Brewers Dumping on South America.

There is a greater reason why all Latin Americas should at once undertake prohibition—namely, that the brewers, whose secret efforts to dominate politics in the United States by boycotts of business men, by bribing and terrorizing officials, by manipulating the negro vote and the white labor vote, have been exposed through Senate investigations, are planning to move their machinery—their machinations also—to the Orient and to the Latin Americas. This means not only greater hygienic and economic injury through drink, but nullifying of democracy by a trade that is as selfish, as brutal, as cruel, as much given to tearing up laws as "scraps of paper" as the Huns, to whom many of these brewers are kindred both in flesh and spirit.

Prohibition makes for health, for business prosperity, for good morals, for clean politics.

Never did the Father of Lies get away with a greater falsehood than that wine and other drinks contribute to "the joy of living." "Nothing is true pleasure that is not pleasant to remember." "A good time is one that does not go off with the having." Wine gives a dangerous gladness for a night, but headache the morning after, and heartache often for life because of the sin and folly to which the muffling of conscience and judgment and the whipping of passion has led. Often two whole lives are blighted by one evening's blindfolding of two souls with drink. From the days of Solomon wine has in the total brought to the man and to the nation "woe and sorrow and babblings and contentions and wounds without cause." This is a case when for both the proverb is true, "Self-denial is self love living for the future." Prohibition is the way to prosperity and peace and progress for every land.

Beer and Wine Drunkenness.

Those who think that the harm of drink never goes so far among wine and beer drinkers as drunkenness, and surely not so far as delirium tremens will do well to ponder the following facts, quoted in the Pioneer, Toronto, Dec. 27, 1918:

Dr. Albert Mahaim, of the University of Liege, reported at the Brussels Anti-Alcohol Congress that of the 367 cases of alcoholic insanity admitted into the asylum in Zurich between 1879 and 1884, 28 had drunk nothing but wine, beer, cider and beer; in all, 77 out of 367, i. e. 20.9 per cent., drank only the so-called "hygienic" drinks. The figures were taken from the Archiv. fur Psychiatrie, 1897.

Dr. Mahaim further stated: "In this same work I found also that among 246 admissions to the inebriate asylum of Ellikon (from 1889 to 1894), 28 alcoholics never drank anything but wine; 14 nothing but beer; 6 only cider; 55 beer and wine; 11 wine and cider; 14 beer and cider; 4 wine and cider and beer; in all, 132 (out of 246) became drunkards on these drinks that are called hygienic.

"These figures oblige us to reflect; they furnish evidence that fermented drinks are also poisonous, and that their general use presents a serious social danger in their relations to the general health as well as to insanity."

Professor Forel, who was presiding when Dr. Mahaim gave his address, said at its close: "I am very glad to have heard the communication of Dr. Mahaim, and especially the passage relating to fermented drinks, because we total abstainers are often accused of exaggeration. He has cited figures showing the proportion of alcoholics admitted to the Swiss asylums who became such through the use of wine, beer or cider. The proportion of these patients is considerably larger than the figures show. It is a serious error to believe that wine and beer do not alcoholize; we have seen a prison keeper, who received from the institution a ration of a quart and a half of wine a day, and who drank nothing else, go rapidly into delirium tremens.

"The asylum of Ellikon has existed eight years and received 500 alcoholics, of which 450, about 90 per cent., were alcoholized by fermented drinks. . . . In Switzerland we have the vine-growing cantons where they drink wine, and there we see typical alcoholism, with delirium tremens. During eight years I have treated about 1,000 alcoholics. The greater part of them became such by the consumption of wine and beer, but particularly wine."

But let us again return to the patriotic aspect of the subject: Drink handicaps a nation in battle and in international industrial competition. Let us abstain and prohibit for God's sake, for our own sake, for the sake of the family, for the sake of our country and the world.

I. Abstain for your own sake. (1) Because the science of life insurance shows from half a century's test that the abstainers live about 25 per cent longer even than moderate drinkers. (2) Because the record of athletes shows that abstainers are also stronger. (3) Because the abstainer has the best chance to get and hold a good job. (4) Because the abstainer has smaller chance of going to the jail or poor house. (5) Because the abstainer is less liable to alcoholism and gambling and impurity.

II. Abstain for the sake of your family and associates. (1) "No man has a moral right to do that which if the whole world should follow his example, as some are sure to do, will produce more harm than good." (2) Science is declaring that daily tippling is more likely than occasional drunkenness to produce hereditary degeneracy.

III. Abstain for the sake of your country. (1) The intelligent patriot will fight as his country's worst foe the domination of liquor sellers in politics.

IV. Abstain for God's sake. "ABSTAIN FROM EVERY FORM OF EVIL."—I Thes. 5:22. Surely no one will seriously claim that the traffic, which Gladstone said truly had done more harm than war, pestilence and famine, is not on the whole "a form of evil." If so I am bound by the divine imperative to abstain from all participation in it.

(Reprinted from the Australian Christian World, Sydney.)

Abolish the Bar Room.

Address by Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts in Australian No-License Campaign.

It is a novel experience to advocate No License, as I shall do tonight, in an audience where the women can help by their votes as well as their prayers. The politicalical issue in our country is the tariff, and so "protection," in that sense, is the chief word in our politics—and it is geting into yours also. But, surely, as some one has said, "The protection of boys is as important as the protection of pig iron," and so, "Home Protection," the great watchword that Miss Willard gave to the W. C. T. U., should surely be the watchword of the voting mothers and sisters here—aye, of fathers and brothers also.

And there can be no doubt that the chief foe of your homes is what you call "the public house," which surely does not get its name from the great watchword that underlies the goverment "pro bono publico." On some one saying to a Christian man, "I see you are more interested in Sabbath observance than in Temperance," he replied, "That is because the Sabbath is in the Commandments." But it will be quickly discovered that the liquor traffic is against not one commandment, but all, if you will put up over a bar Paul's summary of the Law:

Love Worketh No Ill to His Neighbor.

There has been some stir in Sydney, I see, about taking down some street signs. It would make a far greater excitement if in the quiet of some night that sign should be put over the door of every public house.

Everybody here, and nearly everybody else, including many drinking men and many liquor sellers also, believe the sale of intoxicating beverages to be a great evil. Gladstone, though he sometimes drank wine, said that the liquor traffic had done more harm to the world than war, pestilence, and famine. Roosevelt, and Rosebery, though not abstainers, have uttered loud warnings against the mighty power for evil that the liquor traffic exerts, especially by its political domination. Here is the thought of many in the words of the editor of the leading afternoon paper of the U. S. Capital (the "Washington Star"):—

"There are many men in America, not teetotalers nor prohibitionists, who would be glad for several reasons to see the cause of temperance grow in strength and influence at this time. For one thing, they resent the power in politics which the liquor traffic has of late years been exhibiting. It contributes, as the trusts long did, to the campaign funds of both parties, in city, county, State and national contests, and then asks favours. In many cities it rules the roost.

"It is a widespread belief that there would be a wholesome general uplift by the introduction into our public affairs of a great moral question—by an appeal to the people on something higher than tariff rates and public improvements and all that. Why not touch them on something besides their pocket-book, and see the effect of the change? And what better thing for the purpose than the thing which everybody concedes is, without strict restraint, a terrible evil?"

In a concert hall in the city of Buffalo, Kipling saw two young men get two young girls drunk, and then lead them reeling down a dark street. Mr. Kipling has not been a total abstainer nor had his writings commended prohibition, but of that scene he writes: "Then recanting previous opinions, I became a prohibitionist. Better it is that a man should go without his beer in public places, and content himself with swearing at the narrow-mindedness of the majority; better it is to poison the inside with very vile temperance drinks, and to buy lager furitively at back doors, than to bring temptation to the lips of young fools such as the four I had seen. I understand now why the preachers rage against drink. I have said: 'There is no harm in it, taken moderately;' and yet my own demand for beer helped directly to send these two girls reeling down the dark street to—God alone knows what end. If liquor is worth drinking, it is worth taking a little trouble to come at—such as a man will undergo to compass his own desires. It is not good that we should let it lie before the eyes of children, and I have been a fool in writing to the contrary."

Many who have nothing to say against drinking at home, see that the bar greatly incerases the drink evil by providing a treating, loafing, plotting resort, fre-

This leaflet presented by International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C. Send for lists of reform literature on intoxicants, impurity, gambling, Sunday rest, Bible in Schools, censorship of motion pictures, etc.

quented by all kinds of bad characters and open late into the night. I am informed that, although your drinking places all pretend to be hotels, many of them, in the suburbs especially, have no accommodations for lodgers and serve no meals, and are nothing more than what we call saloons, where no food is served except salty free lunches to increase thirsts.

As the issue is not State prohibition, but local option, the articles about the State of Maine published in your papers as paid advertisements by the liquor dealers, which are as wrong as they are long, do not at all apply to the issue pending here. Their chief claim is that big cities, where a majority do not favor prohibition, are coerced in vain by the rural vote. If that were true, what has it to do with no-license campaigns in which the big cities are to settle the question by their own votes? But Maine may be cited in another way to show that no-license is home protection. I was myself brought up there, and never saw a bar, nor had my associates any real temptation to drink. It should not be inferred from this that there is no liquor selling in Maine. Its prohibitory law is sometimes violated, as your laws against importing opium and against stealing are violated. No-license laws come under the great definition that was given of all laws, as intended to make it harder to do wrong and easier to do right. What does it mean that your liquor dealers and their champions are declaring that liquor dealers in America actually violate the law and so nullify it? **Is this a threat that dealers here will also break the law? Surely it can have no other meaning, and this threat affords a new argument why this law-breaking class should be put out of town.**

The proper American precedents to study in a local option campaign are the great and increasing areas in the United States that have been put under no-license by local option. More people of the United States are now under no-license than ever before. The State of Georgia is a typical case. Some of the smaller towns first voted out the saloons, and no-license so decreased the vices and taxes, that it spread like a blessed contagion, until the whole State adopted prohibition. Because local prohibition, in spite of "interstate commerce" difficulties that no other country would have, has worked satisfactorily, the people want the prohibition by wholesale.

The Issue not Abstinence but Abolition of the Bar Room

Those of us who believe in total abstinence need to remember that is not the issue in a no-license vote, but only the abolition of the bar. Many, if not most of the men who vote no-license in the United States, are men who sometimes drink, but they do not wish to have twenty, or forty, or a hundred men in town whose cpuidity spurs them on from morning to night to induce men and boys to drink and drink and drink. This is the real way to "eliminate cupidity," by banishing from your own town those who make a living by inducing young men and boys to begin the drink habit, and reformed men to renew it. It does not eliminate cupidity, we found in South Carolina, for the Government to sell the drink and give the profits to office holders and taxpayers, whose cupidity is even more dangerous, because more widespread, than that of liquor dealers. No license does not prevent a man from importing liquors for use in his own home. **What every no-license law attempts is to put out of the town or State those whose business is to induce others, by show windows and music and social fellowship, to drink, when they would not otherwise do so. No license banishes the drink promoter.**

The Danger of Compromising on Reduction.

If you vote for "reduction" you vote against "No-license," but when you vote "No-license," if that larger good fails, your vote will be counted for reduction.

The United States has been for a hundred years an experiment station of liquor laws, and one thing we have learned is that reducing the number of bars does not materially reduce the consumption or consequences of drink, except when, in rare instances, it removes the drinking places altogether from a considerable area. For example, when in a city block containing three bars, there is a "one-third reduction," or even a "two-thirds reduction," in the number of drinking places, while the remaining one is made more attractive and palatial by getting a monopoly of that block, it no more reduces the business than eliminating superfluous oil refineries to concentrate the business in a Standard Oil Company reduces that business. Even good men sometimes speak as if "eliminating the worst resorts" was a great advantage, when in fact it is only the more respectable places that start boys and young men in the drink habit. In this respect the "best places," are the worst. "Reduction," voted again and again in three-year periods, might at last come to something, but whoever wishes to really protect the home now should VOTE "NO-LICENSE."

Alcohol the Excretion of a Microbe

President Hadley of Yale University said, long since, that if people knew the real nature of alcohol they would drive every saloon from the land. That is one way to drive the saloon from other lands. What is alcohol? Professor Hodge of Clark University describes it as "the waste product of a microbe." Dr. Jas. Empringham, Secretary of the Episcopal Board of Temperance in January issue of its organ "Progress," expands this statement in the following statement:

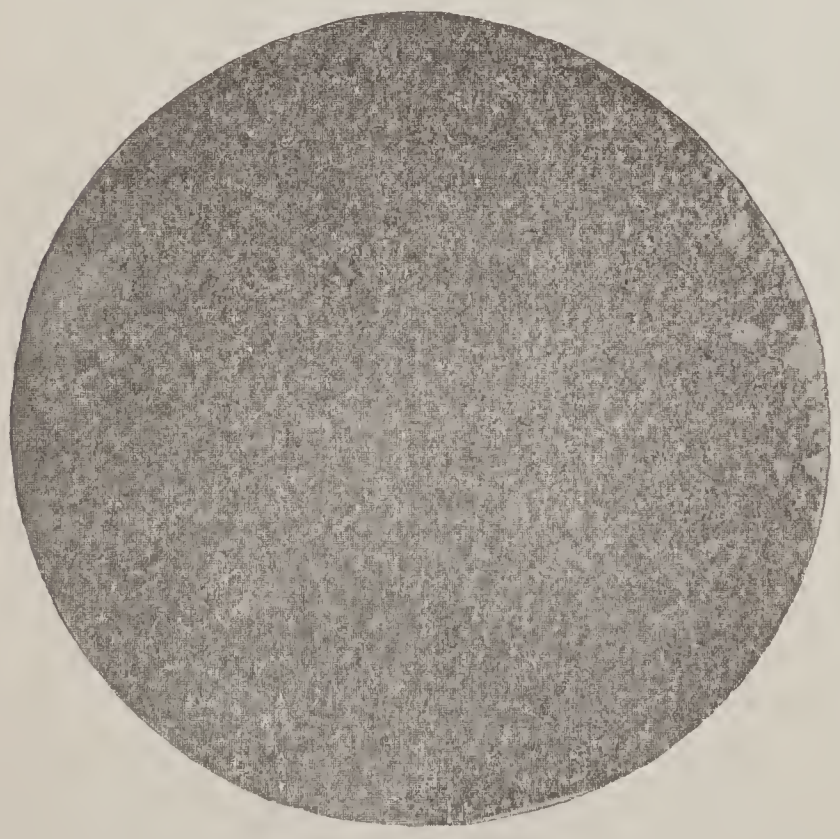
"Billions of mycodermata gather on the skins of grapes. When the grapes are crushed, these microscopic organisms fall into the juice, devour the sugar and excrete a narcotic toxic poison which the chemist calls ethyl hydrate—but the popular name for it is 'alcohol.' When this refuse from the mycodermata is permitted to remain in the grape juice, we call the mixture 'wine'; when, by distillation, this liquid excreta has been separated from the wine, we name it 'brandy.'

We turn the starch of barley into a sugary solution, introduce some of the microscopic organisms, and when they have all committed suicide in their own toxic excretion, we label the result 'beer.' We extract this filthy excretion, this habit-forming drug, from the beer and then call it 'whiskey."

"There is a popular delusion that alcohol (the excreta of the mycodermata we have been describing) is a beverage. We talk of the curse of 'drink'; but alcohol is no more a drink than is morphine or cocaine. We imagine alcohol to be a beverage because whenever we see this drug, it is always mixed with a large quantity of water. Beer is generally ninety-five per cent water, wine about eighty-nine per cent water and whiskey fifty per cent water.

"If a chemist removed every drop of water from a barrel of beer and a man drank a glass of this waterless beer, he would die the same hour. Alcohol is the exact opposite of drink; its affinity for water is so great it robs the tissues of moisture, causing fearful thirst, resulting in death.

"I know unfortunate men who are the slaves of morphine, but they always seem ashamed of their weakness. I never knew a morphine fiend greet a friend on the street with 'Come over to the drug store and have a morphine on me.' Those addicted to chloral hydrate are equally ashamed of their habit. Why should ethyl hydrate (alcohol) be considered more respectable than choral hydrate? They are both narcotic, habit-forming drugs."



Central Control Board of Great Britain, a majority of whose members were friendly to the liquor traffic, which they were appointed to regulate, not prohibit, said in report Nov., 1916, all of which is worth studying as containing the admissions of non-prohibitionists: "Alcohol is narcotic, rather than stimulant in action. Its nutritional value is strictly limited. Its habitual use as an aid to work is physiologically unsound."

Guiding Principles for Christian Voters

"After reconstruction, the next great question will be the overthrow of the liquor traffic."—Abraham Lincoln to Mr. J. B. Merwin, April 14, 1865, the morning before his assassination.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Washington: Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.

Lincoln: I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to the light I have. Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong."

Roosevelt: "If a candidate be corrupt, then refuse, under any plea of party expediency, under any consideration to refrain from smiting him with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon." (See p. 105.)

Charles Sumner: "Where principle is, there is my party."

Jefferson: "The excise law is an infernal one. The first error was to admit it by the Constitution, the second was to act on that admission."

William McKinley, July 10, 1874: "Every man who votes for license becomes of necessity a partner to the liquor traffic and all its consequences."

Horace Greeley, in Tribune: "Now, it is mad, it is driveling, to talk of regulating the traffic in intoxicating beverages Raise the charge for license to $10,000 and enact that nobody but a doctor of divinity shall be allowed to sell, and you will have no material improvement on the state of things now presented, because so long as one man is licensed to sell, thousands will sell without license. The law is robbed of all moral sanction and force by the fact that it grants dispensations to some who do with impunity and for their own profit that which is forbidden to others."

Hon. J .W. Longley, Attorney General of Nova Scotia: "It would be the greatest blessing in life that could be conferred upon our institutions if in every one of the Two Hundred and Fifteen constituents of Canada there were a hundred men who did not care a button about party, and voted as they thought was right and proper in the interests of the country." Some of those in public life would get hurt, and it would not always work right for the machine, but it would influence those high in the councils of the nation to pursue a course that would command the respect of the best and truest elements in the country."

Note that this leaflet speaks for North and South and Canada—for the world. For sale at 50c. per 100, prepaid by the International Reform Bureau, 206 Penn'a Av., s. e., Washington, D. C.

INDICTMENT OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

(Unanimous declaration of Missisippi Temperance Convention, 1904, Bishop C. D. Galloway, Pres.)

The beverage liquor traffic is an unmitigated moral, social, financial and political evil.

It is at war with all the forces that tend to build up men into better lives.

It breeds every social disorder and wars persistently upon the home and all organized society.

It wastes the living of dependent women and children, and destroys the productive energy of the people.

It seeks to control for corrupt purposes political parties.

It enslaves many public men, subverts public justice, debauches the public conscience, schools its patrons to perjury, and is the implacable enemy of both church and state.

We declare that every effort to regulate the traffic by license laws has been a failure; that while the law forbids any one to engage in the traffic who is not of good moral character, there is that inherent in the traffic which inevitably subverts moral character, and as a result the business drifts into the hands of men who are morally depraved.

And so far-reaching is its influence that in some instances the law against the traffic has failed, for the reason that the corrupting influence of the dram shop at times reaches the inner precincts of justice and subverts all law.

We, therefore, condemn the license system of the beverage liquor traffic, in any form, as a delusion and a snare, and declare that the only consistent, wise and righteous policy of the state is to withdraw from all partnership in or complicity with it; to put it under the ban of law, to turn against it the whole power of the state, moral and legal, as a common enemy, not only bad in itself, but the ever-willing ally of all other evil forces which afflict society. No people have the moral right to license sin to raise the public revenue.

HENRY GRADY ON DRINK.

To-day it strikes a crust from the lips of a starving child, and to-morrow levies tribute from the government itself.

There is no cottage humble enough to escape it, no place strong enough to shut it out.

It defies the law when it cannot coerce suffrage.

It is flexible to cajole, but merciless in victory.

It is the mortal enemy of peace and order, the despoiler of men and terror of women, the cloud that shadows the face of children, the demon that has dug more graves and sent more souls unshrived to judgment than all the pestilences that have wasted life since God sent the plagues to Egypt, and all the wars since Joshua stood beyond Jericho.

It comes to ruin, and it shall profit mainly by the ruin of your sons and mine.

It comes to mislead human souls and to crush human hearts under its rumbling wheels.

It comes to bring gray-haired mothers down in shame and sorrow to their graves.

It comes to change the wife's love into despair and her pride into shame.

It comes to still the laughter on the lips of little children.

It comes to stifle all the music of the home and fill it with silence and desolation.

It comes to ruin your body and mind, to wreck your home, and it knows it must measure its prosperity by the swiftness and certainty with which it wrecks this world.

Is the liquor traffic guilty, as charged? Then let the verdict be, **Abstinence and Prohibition.**

BAR KEEPERS

"COME OUT FROM AMONG THEM."

"The curse of God Almighty is on your business. You know it.

"Your coffers drip with human blood.

"You know it.

"You are barred out from all decent society.

"You know it.

"The Masonic fraternity have kicked you out. The Knights of Pythias have kicked you out. The Odd Fellows have kicked you out. Catholic Benevolent Societies have kicked you out. The great insurance companies have kicked you out.

"The railroads of America, won't employ your patrons.

"The churches reject men for membership who rent your property.

"Only a few places like the penitentiary, the poor house, and the potter's field are open to your graduates.

"Of all men you are regarded as the scum of the earth in this world, and you face a fearful destiny in the next.

"Are you blind to these facts?

"Are you dumb to all appeals?

"We implore you, for your own sake, for your family's sake, for humanity's sake, quite the saloon business."—CLINTON N. HOWARD.

CHRISTIANS

"COME OUT FROM AMONG THEM."

The saloon is damning each year its scores of thousands of souls, and wrecking its thousands of homes. No church should allow any one who is in it to hold office. No Christian should rent property for any purpose connected with the curse, as saloon, office, or hotel where liquor is sold.—ROBERT E. SPEER.

VOTERS

"COME OUT FROM AMONG THEM."

DR. HOWARD S. TAYLOR, Chicago City Prosecutor: The saloon-keeper is as good as his license; the license as good as the official who signed it; the signer as good as the legislature which made it possible; the legislature as good as those who elected them.

International Sunday School Association

Temperance Pledge

That I may give my best service to God and to my Fellowmen

I Promise God and Pledge Myself

never to use Intoxicating Liquors as a drink and to do all I can to end the Drink Habit and the Liquor Traffic.

.....

HIGH LICENSE IN RABBITVILLE.

Inasmuch as dogs will catch rabbits any way, it was decided by the citizens of Rabbitville to license kennels at a high fee in order to "restrict" the evil and provide a public revenue.—Prohibition Æsop by J. W. Bengough.

"Blind tigers" are bad, but I would be much more fearful for the safety of my children on the street if there was one tiger with his eyes open.—O. R. Miller.

IS STATE CONTROL OF DRINK A DELIVERANCE OF A DELUSION?

Should the State conduct the beverage sale of intoxicants? Some good people say so. What is the essence of their logic? The major premise is: The growth of the liquor traffic, with its attendent evils, is due more to the greed of the seller than to the appetite of the buyer. The minor premise is: If the liquor were sold by government employees, whose salaries would not be increased by increased sales, the profits being devoted to schools and charities—since cheapening the liquors would be considered dangerous—the element of cupidity would be eliminated. The conclusion is, Eliminating cupidity from the liquor traffic thus would eliminate most of its harm.

The trouble is with the minor premise. **The dispensary does not even in theory, much less in practice, dispense with cupidity but only extends it to a larger number of people, retaining personal cupidity and adding social cupidity.** The tax-payer does not see that the liquor traffic, which he is thus bribed by the State bar to spare when it should be slain, increases his taxes for pauperism and crime.—W. F. CRAFTS.

On Brewers Plot to Nullify National Prohibition Amendment by Inciting Workingmen to "No Beer, no Work" Strikes.

Germany tried to terrorize the world, and after her armies are whipped to a standstill on the other side of the Atlantic we do not intend to lose the war to the German brewers in America. It is the German brewers, backers of the German-American Alliance, which defended the murder of American citizens on the high seas, the ravishing of Belgium, the enslavement of French women, the outraging and crucifixion of Armenian girls, the bayoneting of babies, that having failed to buy Legislatures in this country to defeat ratification are now inciting to riot and rebellion, willing to jeopardize the American nation in order to save beer. Let them beware. There may be room for honest difference of opinion as to the terms of an enforcement measure, but when the issue of nullification is raised we fight. And we will continue to fight until the infamous liquor traffic is thrown back into the hell which spawned it, and until, if necessary, its German brewer patron saints are sent back to Germany, which is as close as we can send them to their proper place without committing manslaughter.—Wm. H. Anderson, Feb. 25, 1919.

We appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober from Germany brutalized by beer and infidelity and militarism to the old Germany of Luther, and the new Germany for which we pray—such as our loyal citizens of German stock prove may emerge from the revolution if the German people repent of their attempt to enslave the world as America repented of the slavery that was abolished forever by our Civil War.—W.F.C.

The Results of Prohibition in Canada

[From "Social Welfare," Toronto, Nov., 1918.]

Prince Edward Island.

Mr. T. C. James says: "So many years have passed since prohibition came into force that it is impossible to give a clear-cut view of the benefits accruing therefrom, as contrasted with the days of license laws which preceded, and which are now only a memory to the older generation. An expression of opinion was given many years ago by the Stipendiary Magistrate of Charlottetown, endorsed by the City Assessor, and leading men in the coal, dry goods and grocery trades, and there was unanimity that prohibition had resulted in a marked decrease in the number of arrests (as shown by the records of the police court); that the condition and general appearance of the homes in the city has greatly improved; that trade was better, and that the more prompt payment of bills was a marked feature of the new condition. All this in spite of the fact that the law then was very imperfectly enforced. Today, owing partly to the appointment of the Temperance Commission and partly to the more stringent regulations, there is a marked change for the better in this respect, and there is no doubt that the benefits noted in the early days of prohibition have gone on in an increasing scale. So thoroughly is prohibition appreciated throughout the whole province, that it is safe to say that there is no district in which an advocate of the repeal of the law would stand any chance of election.

Nova Scotia.

Equally enthusiastic is the testimony of Nova Scotia. The Premier of the Province has expressed himself as gratified with improved conditions in the province resulting from Provincial Prohibition. Other members of the government have endorsed this opinion. The mayors of towns and chiefs of police have borne similar testimony. Members of the House of Assembly, who a little over two years ago (prohibition became effective in Halifax, 30th June, 1916) opposed the enactment of prohibition for the city are today numbered in the ranks of prohibitionists, and seventy-five per cent of the citizens who formerly were opposed to the enactment of the law, are now its advocates.

The economic benefit is very marked. Managers of large business firms have stated that comparing sales for a certain period of time under license and prohibition, the gain was from twenty to thirty per cent.

Enforced prohibition has made a decrease in crime, drunkenness and poverty. It has transformed hundred of homes, where, instead of wretchedness, there is now peace and plenty.

When municipal enforcement of law, which is the system in this province, gives place to effective provincial enforcement, conditions will be yet more improved. The prohibition of importation under the War Measures Act has been of inestimable benefit to Nova Scotia.

A much more detailed survey of the liquor status of the various countries is given by Dr. and Mrs. W. F. Crafts in March, 1919, issue of 20th Century Quarterly as a "Prohibition Inspection Tour of the World." The imaginary party starts in Canada, goes through the United States, West Indes, Central America, down east coast of South America, up West Coast through Panama Canal, on to Greenland, Iceland, Britain, Portugal, Spain, France, North to Scandanavia, on through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, North through new republics cut off of Austria-Hungary and Russia, through to China, Japan, Philippines, India, Austria, Afgnanistan, Persia, Turkey, Balkans, Greece, Palestine, Egypt east, south, west and North Africa. This Quarterly will be sent on application, with stamp, of any country.

New Brunswick.

There can be no question but that prohibition has completely revolutionized the social life of New Brunswick. This is the unreserved testimony of the chief inspector for the province. Especially are the benefits evidentin the lumber trade, where the men arrive in the bush, sober, well-behaved and ready to work the first morning. Drinking in the trains and public places has also been eliminated. The payment of debts is most gratifying, the records of one collector showing an increase of 66 per cent. Here, too the family life has been raised to a much higher standard.

Quebec.

From Quebec no adequate summary can be obtained, for though many counties and towns have local option, the city of Montreal does not come under prohibition until May, 1919. In consideration of these circumstances, any report would not be a fair statement of the case, since we may suspect that "all roads lead to Montreal."

Ontario.

In the Province of Ontario, in spite of frequent undesirable importations from the ancient province to the east, and the presence of "home brew" in large quantities in certain sections, still, the good effect of the Order-in-Council respecting the manufacture and importation of liquor is evident from the statement of Col. Grassett, Chief Constable of the city of Toronto. During the eight months of this year there have been 2143 arrests for drunkenness as against 2946 for the same period of the preceding year, a decrease of 803, or 27.2%. During the first three months, however, before the present Order-in-Council came into effect the decrease was 49, the figures being 1013 and 1062 respectively, or 4.6%, while during the last five months the decrease has been 754, the figures being 1130 and 1884, or 40%.

Keeping in mind that large quantities of liquor previously imported have been available during these months and that during the whole month of April liquor was being delivered, this showing seems somewhat encouraging.

Manitoba.

A fair index to the working out results of the legislation in Manitoba may be found in the following statement by F. J. Billiarde, Juvenile Court of Winnipeg: "The chief factor to which may be attributed the falling off in delinquency is the closing of the saloons and bar-rooms."

Saskatchewan.

Saskatchewan is most definite in its support of the measure. We are indebted to our Provisional Secretary, W. J. Stewart, for the information herewith printed. While there are no statistics to show just what money has been saved in Saskatchewan under temperance legislation, yet authentic statements estimate the amount at not less than $10,000,000 per annum.

The social life of the province has a higher and claner tone. Business transactions and social relationships are not now linked up with the social glass.

The family is where the greatest good has been accomplished. That fathers and sons are not tempted by the open bar and their earnings squandered as formerly, is wonderfully evidenced by the material, social and moral blessings that have come in the new order upon thousands of our homes. The children are able to go to school and to college, and to acquire an education impossible where the home was impoverished and cursed by strong drink.

The organized liquor traffic no longer exists, and so has no power in the realm of politics. The dying kicks of the traffic in Saskatchewan were aimed at the government for its advanced temperance legislation. While liquor can be procured by prescription there is little drunkenness to be seen.

Practically all crime resulting from intoxication has vanished. This does not say that we have no crime, but crime from drunkenness has ceased. That for nearly four years several thousand soldiers have been in Regina, and, according to police report, not a single case of trouble, argues well for prohibition.

The general sentiment of the province is overwhelmingly in favor of prohibition. There are no indications of reverting to the open bar, or to any other method of disposing of alcoholic liquors, other than by prescription for medicinal, mechanical and scientific purposes.

Alberta.

There is but one voice in the Province of Alberta regarding the effect of prohibition, viz., that it has been most beneficent. It is nothing short of a social revolution affecting every phase of human life. During the first two years of prohibition, there was created a new market for legitimate business throughout the province to the extent of $15,000,000.

British Columbia.

From one of the best known newspaper men on the Pacific Coast comes the report of British Columbia's satisfaction with the law.

Prohibition has been most satisfactory. Two things have qualified its complete success, one was the large stock of liquor which was cached by private individuals previous to the advent of the law in preparation for a protracted drought. This has, of course, been drawn on freely and, under the law, there can be little interference with it. However, its exhaustion is rapidly approaching and the difficulties from that source would seem to be nearing an end.

There is a degree of blindpigging but ont more than under the license law. In Vancouver, where the shipbuilding trade involves a daily payroll of $20,000 to $25,000, with the individual drawing from $5 to $10 a day (where previously he earned a bare living wage), there is practical immunity from drunkenness, and free movement of money. "With no dry law in effect we would have had a veritable hell in this town." Thousands of homes have been improved and opinion is practically unanimous in favor of the law.

One of the most valuable comments is that of the editor of a British Columbia labor paper, a former bitter opponent of the law, who says that prohibition has enabled him to consolidate labor interests, as he could never do previously. The men come to the meetings sober, regularly and with money; business can be transacted sanely and readily. The employers speak enthusiastically of the law, since labor is stabilized.

Such whole-hearted endorsation of the legislation seems to guarantee the permanence of the measure in the various provinces. The liquor interests will perforce concentrate on preventing the Federal War Time Prohibition Act from becoming permanent by Act of Parliament, as their one hope of plying again their ancient and (personally) profitable trade, or failing this, upo getting exemption in Federal or Provincial legislation for wine and beer. While this and other schemes must be watched and fought, there is no likelihood of their success. Public opinion is too solidly in favor of a permanently and completely dry Canada.

Books Suitable For Worldwide Prohibition Campaign.

The first edition of this book represented the status of prohibition in the United States, and, to some extent, in other lands, in September, 1918, just before war prohibition was finally decreed, and when ratification of national constitutional prohibition had not yet been assured by the November elections. This second edition differs from the first in the addition of sixty-four pages of new matter (pp. 129-192), concluding with an alphabetical index.

The chapters on ratification and war prohibition may seem to some American readers at first glance to be out of date—also those on local and State prohibition. But there is still need to prepare those who voted against prohibition to accept it cordially by showing our reasons. And this book was written for worldwide use. In every chapter there are facts and arguments that will be used in battles for local prohibition in Scotland and elsewhere; for Dominion prohibition in Canada and New Zealand; for national prohibition in Sweden and other lands; all of which facts and arguments are made accessible by the new analytical index at the close.

"The Maine Law," by Ernest Gordon, the first answer in a real book of literary quality to the misrepresentations of Maine prohibition sent all over the world in countless press articles and leaflets and in the books of Sherwell and Rountree and John Koren—the latter now exposed as a secretly subsidized agent of the brewers, though posing successfully as an independent literateur to such an extent that he has been elected to many honorary positions in statistical and other literary and philanthropic societies. They owe it to the public to withdraw those honors, given under misapprehension.

Another book, "Two Footnotes to the History of the Anti-Alcohol Movement," also by Mr. Gordon, naturally goes with "The Maine Law," because it shows the hostile animus both of Mr. Koren and "The Committee of Fifty," of whom he was the chief agent, in their veiled attacks on prohibition and total abstinence, and especially on scientific temperance teaching in the schools.

Another book of Mr. Gordon's, "The Breakdown of the Gothenburg System," is very timely wherever there is effort to put in that "buffer State" in place of prohibition. It is the sort of scholarly, judicial weighing of the evidence that will carry any man open to conviction.

Mr. Gordon's "Russia," though revolutionary chaos has eclipsed prohibition for the time, would be of great value in China and other lands as showing the great political, economic, social and moral benefits that accrued in the first year of the first national prohibition.

Mr. Gordon's greatest book, "The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe," should be circulated widely in the United States to kill forever the appeal for toleration of wine and beer, and it is particularly adapted for circulation among the scholarly natives of China, Japan, and India to save Asia from Europe's tragic experience with alcohol.

We are presenting to foreign Sunday schools, through the World's Sunday School Associatoin, besides Mrs. Stella B. Irvine's lesson leaflets and Miss Stoddard's booklet, "Shall We Spare Wine and Beer?" and her illustrated "Handbook of Modern Facts About Alcohol"—all these for translation into many languages—Crafts "World Book of Temperance," an illustrated cyclopedia, in readable form, written for world use, with Bible lessons in the foreground ,but temperance teachings of science and history also used as parallel passages. (Other books suitable for this campaign noted on p. 183.)

Most important of all new literature we regard the stenographic report of the U. S. Senate investigations of the secret political plotting of the breweres, a digest of which every one interested should ask Hon. C. H. P. Randall, Washington, D. C., to send him.

This investigation should make the patriotic argument for prohibition supreme in all democracies. By so much as treason to a nation is worse than the robbing or murder of an individual, by so much is the injury of drink to business and to the body overtopped by its poisoning of the body politic. Only by deposing the liquor power in politics can we make the world, or any part of it, "safe for democracy."

Status of Prohibition in U. S. by States, Mar. 4, 1919

Based on Clip Sheet of Mr. Deets Pickett, Research Secretary of Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, for December 28, 1919, with additional notes for gains to March 4, 1919, by International Reform Bureau.

ALABAMA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, enacted Jan. 14, 1915, effective July 1, 1915. Vote in Legislature about 3 to 1 dry. Advanced law enforcement features expected of Legislature meeting in 1919. Ratified, 1919, Senate 23 to 11, House 64 to 34.

ARIZONA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Nov. 3, 1914, 25,887 to 22,743, effective Jan. 1, 1915. Law overthrown by State Supreme Court, Nov. 7, 1916. Voters amended Constitution, prohibition getting majority twice that previously given. Ratified, 1918, Senate, 17 to 0, House 29 to 3.

ARKANSAS. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Jan. 5, 1915, effective Jan. 1, 1916. Senate vote was 33 to 2, House unanimous. Under initiative, liquor interests forced vote on repeal Nov. 7, 1916, but were defeated by 50,000 majority. Law is very drastic. Even physician can not prescribe liquor, though he may administer it under his personal direction. Ratified 1919, Senate 34 to 0, House 92 to 2.

CALIFORNIA. Seven entirely dry counties. Only county and city of San Francisco entirely wet. About 66 per cent. of territory and 50 per cent. of population under dry law. Nov. 5, 1918, California voted on prohibition, giving 275,643 yeas to 306,488 nays. State voted on another wet and dry proposal same election, which divided dry vote. During 1918 Los Angeles closed all saloons and restricted sale of liquors with meals to hours between 11 A. M. and 9 P. M. San Jose and Stockton did likewise. Several small cities went dry. No dry territory changed to wet. Governor running on ratification platform was elected by 136,358 majority. Ratified, 1919, Senate 25 to 14, House, 48 to 28.

COLORADO. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition, Nov. 3, 1914, 129,589 to 118,017, law becoming effective Jan. 1, 1916. Liquor interests proposal to amend law to except beer from prohibition, defeated Nov. 7, 1916, by 77,345 votes for to 163,134 against. Denver gave majority against beer amendment, vote being 23,112 to 34,195. Nov. 5, 1918, importation of liquors for personal use prohibited by majority of about 50,000, Denver giving dry majority of 6,800. Ratified, 1919, Senate, 29 to 1; House, 63 to 2.

CONNECTICUT. 101 dry towns and 67 wet; dry gain of one during 1918. About 65 per cent. territory and 30 per cent population dry. In 1917, Assembly submitted Statewide prohibition. Must be submitted and passed again by two-thirds in 1919, after which will go to the people. Vote adversely. Six more years to ratify.

DELAWARE. Two dry counties, one wet. In 1918 rural portion of New Castle county went dry; 98 per cent. of territory and 50 per cent. of population dry. Only Wilmington wet. Ratified, 1918, Senate, 13 to 3; House, 27 to 6.

FLORIDA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition, Nov. 5, 1918, effective Jan. 1, 1919. At 1918 election every county in State unofficially reported to have favored prohibition. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 25 to 2; House, 61 to 3.

GEORGIA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Aug. 6, 1907, effective Jan. 1, 1908. Senate, 34 to 7; House, 139 to 39. Bone dry law approved March 28, 1917; Senate, 34 to 1; House, 115 to 30. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 34 to 2; House, 129 to 24.

IDAHO. Under statutory Statewide prohibition, Feb., 1915, effective Jan. 1, 1916. This is strictest possible law, forbidding possession of brandy, whiskey and beer under any circumstances, and allowing wine and pure alcohol to be possessed only for sacramental and medicinal purposes. Law upheld by United States Supreme Court. Nov. 7, 1916, people of Idaho voted by about two to one for constitutional amendment, effective May 1, 1917, fortifying the prohibition law. Ratified, 1919, Senate, 38 to 0; House, 62 to 0.

ILLINOIS. 54 dry counties, 48 wet. 87 per cent. of area and 48 per cent. of population dry. In 1918 Bloomington, Rock Island, Fulton, Pana, Mt. Pulaski, Lincoln, Savanna, East Moline, St. Charles and Chester voted dry. Only one township with two villages went back to wet. Ratified, 1919, Senate, 30 to 15; House, 84 to 66.

INDIANA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, effective Apr. 2, 1918, House, 70 to 28; Senate, 38 to 11. State Supreme Court held law constitutional June 28, 1918. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 41 to 6; House, 87 to 11.

IOWA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Feb., 1915, effective Jan. 1, 1916. By small majority, in 1917, declined to adopt constitutional prohibition. Ratified, 1919, Senate, 42 to 7; House, 86 to 13.

KANSAS. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition, 1880, by majority of 7,837. Feb., 1917, House prohibited importation of liquors even for personal use, House, 103 to 12; Senate, 37 to 1. For past 15 years all parties have stood for prohibition. Independent wet candidate beaten in 1914 by 10 to 1. Ratified, 1919, Senate, 39 to 0; House, 121 to 0.

KENTUCKY. 108 dry counties, 12 wet; 96 per cent. of territory and 81 per cent. of population dry. 1918 Legislature passed anti-shipping law and submitted Statewide prohibition—Senate, 28 to 6; House, 76 to 11. Election vote on State amendment by people, Nov. 4, 1919. Ratified, 1918—Senate, 30 to 8; House, 84 to 13.

LOUISIANA. 34 of 61 parishes are dry, including 53 per cent. of population and 21 per cent. of territory. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 21 to 20; House, 69 to 51.

MAINE. Under Statewide prohibition adopted 1851, made constitutional 1884, 70,630 to 23,658. Law has had poor enforcement at various times, but is in 1919 well enforced. Ratified, 1919—Senate, 31 to 1; House, 120 to 22.

MARYLAND. 20 dry counties; 3 counties and Baltimore city wet. Drys gained two counties during year 1918; 55 per cent. of population and 90 per cent. of territory dry. Ratified, 1918—Senate, 18 to 7; House, 58 to 36.

MASSACHUSETTS. Three counties entirely dry; 70 per cent. of territory and 32 per cent. of population dry. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 27 to 12; House, 145 to 91.

MICHIGAN. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition Nov. 6, 1916, 353,378 to 284,754, effective May 1, 1918. Enforcement of the law is under Food and Drug Commissioner and State Constabulary. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 26 to 0; House, 88 to 3.

MINNESOTA. Sixty-four dry counties, 22 wet, a gain of 5 dry counties since 1917. Eighty-five per cent. of territory and 47 per cent. of population dry. At election Nov. 5, 1918, drys polled 189,547 votes for State-wide prohibition to 173,615 against, a dry majority of 15,932, to which Minneapolis contributed a dry majority of 6,913. To carry, prohibition required a majority of all votes cast at the election, which it failed to get by 756. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 48 to 11; House, 96 to 32.

MISSISSIPPI. Under Statewide statutory prohibition enacted Feb. 1, 1908, effective Dec. 1, 1908. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 31 to 6; House, 65 to 10.

MISSOURI. About 85 of the counties are dry and 29 wet; 90 per cent. of area and 53 per cent. of population are dry. Statewide prohibition was defeated at polls Nov. 5, 1918. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 22 to 10; House, 104 to 36.

MONTANA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition, Nov. 7, 1916, 102,776 to 73,890, effective Jan. 1, 1919. Legislature meeting in 1919 expected to provide State sheriff for enforcement of bone dry prohibition. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 34 to 2; House, 67 to 8.

NEBRASKA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition Nov. 7, 1916, 146,574 to 117,132. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 21 to 1; House, 98 to 0.

NEVADA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Nov. 5, 1918. Ratified, Senate, 14 to 1; House, 32 to 3.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, effective May 1, 1918. House, 190 to 185; Senate, 14 to 9. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 19 to 4; House, 221 to 121.

NEW JERSEY. Eighty-six local option elections won by drys 1918, 93 by wets; net result large dry gain. 30 per cent. of territory, 10 per cent. of population dry. During 1918 stronger enforcement laws passed. Six more years in which to ratify.

NEW MEXICO. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, effective Oct. 1, 1918, 28,735 to 12,147. Made constitutional in Nov. same year. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 12 to 4; House, 45 to 1.

NEW YORK. Six entirely dry counties, gain of one during year 1918. 601 towns out of 932 dry, a dry gain during year of 52. Dry counties are Chemung, Delaware, Orleans, Schoharie, Tioga, Thompkins and Yates. 6,000 saloons quit business during 1918, according to report of the state excise commissioner. This is as great a "score" for the "dry" cause as the banishment of the traffic from a whole state in less populous sections. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 27 to 24; House, 81 to 66.

NORTH CAROLINA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, 1909. 113 to 612. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 49 to 0; House, 93 to 10.

NORTH DAKOTA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition Oct. 1, 1889, effective Nov. 2, 1889, 18,552 to 17, 393. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 43 to 2; House, 96 to 10.

OHIO. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition, Nov. 5, 1918, 463,654 to 437, 895, effective May 27, 1919. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 20 to 12; House, 84 to 29.

OKLAHOMA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition since statehood, Nov. 16, 1907, 130,361 to 112,258. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 43 to 0; House, 90 to 8.

OREGON. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition Nov. 3, 1914, majority 36,340, effective Jan. 1, 1916. Nov. 7, 1916, beer amendment defeated by 53,992 majority. Bone dry amendment absolutely forbidding importation of liquors for beverage purposes, carried by 5,255 majority—all but six counties voting for it. In 1917 Legislature passed drastic bone dry law in accordance with vote of the people in 1916. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 30 to 0; House, 53 to 3.

PENNSYLVANIA. 14 dry counties, 53 wet, a gain during 1918 of 3 counties for drys. Ratified, 1919, 110 to 93; Senate, 29 to 16.

RHODE ISLAND. 14 dry towns, 25 wet; 6 towns voted dry Nov. 5, 1918. 13 per cent. of population and 38 per cent. of territory dry. Ratification refused, Senate 12 to 25. Six more years to ratify.

SOUTH CAROLINA. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Sept. 14, 1915, 11,954 majority, effective July 1, 1917. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 43 to 0; House, 86 to 0.

SOUTH DAKOTA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition Nov. 7, 1916, about 12,000 majority, effective July 1, 1917. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 43 to 0; House, 86 to 0.

TENNESEE. Under Statewide statutory prohibition Jan., 1909, effective July 1, 1909. Law practically ignored in Nashville, Memphis and Chattanooga until passage of nuisance act in 1913. This legislation reinforced in 1915 by "Ouster law" for removal of faithless officials, and soft drink stand act, resulting in enforcement in cities. Under Ouster law, more than a score officials have been forced out of office. In 1917 an anti-storing law, an anti-shipping law, and laws increasing penalty for violation were passed. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 28 to 3; House, 90 to 6.

TEXAS. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, 1918; Senate, practically unanimous; House, 103 to 21. State Supreme Court 1918 held law a violation of constitutional provision, concerning local option, but attorney general kept saloons closed by means of injunctions, and comptroller refused to issue licenses. Legislature of 1919 expected to submit State constitutional prohibition. Ratified, 1918; Senate, 21 to 0; House, 71 to 29.

UTAH. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Feb., 1917, effective Aug. 1, 1917, made constitutional, 1918. Ratified; Senate, 17 to 1; House, 47 to 1.

VERMONT. Ninety-five per cent. or area and 80 per cent. of population under prohibition. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 26 to 3; House, 155 to 58.

VIRGINIA. Under Statewide prohibition approved by people 1914, enacted by Legislature Feb., 1916, effective Nov. 1, 1916. Enforcement under State prohibition commissioner. Ratified, 1918; Senate; 32 to 5; House, 93 to 3.

WASHINGTON. Under Statewide statutory prohibition, Nov. 3, 1914. Drastic law, majority 18,632, effective Jan. 1, 1916. Law prohibits sale, manufacture, giving away or otherwise furnishing or disposing of intoxicating liquors, or having in possession any intoxicating liquor or any drug or medicine containing alcohol, capable of being used as a beverage. In 1916, liquor interests initiated a measure to destroy prohibition, commonly called "The Hotel Liquor Bill," and a measure to permit sale of beer. First was defeated by majority of 189,915, receiving only 42,702, the second by 124,846, receiving only 89,997 votes. Prohibition made constitutional and bone dry, 1918. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 40 to 0; House, 93 to 0.

WEST VIRGINIA. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition, Senate 26 to 4; House, 88 to 5. Ratified, 1919; Senate, 30 to 0; House, 94 to 0.

WISCONSIN. Only two counties entirely dry, 69 wet, a dry gain of one during year. 75 per cent. of territory and 50 per cent. of population dry. Ratified, 1918; Senate 19 to 11; House, 58 to 39.

WYOMING. Under Statewide constitutional prohibition Nov. 5, 1918, effective Jan. 1, 1920, 31,407 to 10,206. Legislature of 1919 expected to enact statutory prohibition to bring prohibition into effect during 1919. Ratified, 1919. Senate 25 to 0; House 53 to 0.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TERRITORIES AND ISLANDS UNDER EXECUTIVE CONTROL.

ALASKA. (Territory). Under prohibition. Requested of Congress by plebiscite, November 7, 1916, 9,052 to 4,835. Resulting bill approved by President Feb. 11, 1917, effective Jan. 1, 1918.

CANAL ZONE. Under prohibition by Act of Congress June 18, 1918, for the war. Made permanent by law of Congress, February 25, 1919.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Under prohibition, Nov. 1, 1917, by Act of Congress, Senate 55 to 32; House, 273 to 137. Made "bone dry" by provision in revenue bill, 1919.

GUAM. Under prohibition by order of Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, April 30, 1918, effective July 1, 1918.

HAWAII (Territory). Under prohibition by Act of Congress, May 23, 1818.

PORTO RICO (Territory). Under prohibition through referendum of people ordered by Congress. Popular majority 38,196; effective March 2, 1918. Legislature defined "intoxicating liquors" as not including drinks of 2½ per cent. alcohol or less.

TUTUILA. Under prohibition by Act of Congress June 18, 1918.

VIRGIN ISLANDS. Under prohibition effective July 1, 1919, by vote of local legislature, with exceptions for light wines and beer.

PHILIPPINES. Practically all natives, outside of missionary churches, drink the native drink, tuba, made from the sap of the cocoanut palm, a mild beverage of about the strength of lager beer. Mothers often give it to their babies, which may partly explain high death rate on infants. Tuba makes the natives garrulous or even pugnacious, but seldom "dead drunk." The more refined and educated natives drink imported wines but seldom to full intoxication. American saloons are found in the large cities. The people have not recognized that drink lowers efficiency and some employers will give employees a daily ration of tuba. There is a considerable economic loss in that cocoanut trees are used more for drink than food.

PHILIPPINES (Territory). "Wet." Would have been made "dry" by enabling act but for parliamentary difficulty in getting vote.

RATIFICATION STATISTICS.

With six years allowed for ratification of national prohibition amendment, it was completed in 13 months. Final votes in Congress on ratification were on December 17, 18, 1917. Ratification was completed by action of 36 States Jan. 16, 1919.. House submission vote, representing all the people proportionately, was 282 to 252—which was 26 more than two-thirds. Ratifications by votes of legislators 4 2-3 to 1. Legislatures ratifying were many of them elected on this issue, and the majority represents unquestionably the people's verdict not alone that of legislators. The cry of "wet" papers against the amendment being forced on the majority by a "minority," looks ridiculous indeed when we see that the population of the three non-ratifying States, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Connecticut, is but five millions out of more than one hundred and ten millions in our total population, showing a vote of 21 to 1.

ALLEGED OBSTACLES TO RATIFICATION CONSIDERED.

As to the desperate cry of the liquor men for a referendum, which they have always opposed when it was legally possible, the Constitution plainly says amendments shall be ratified by votes of "legislatures," and it ought to be self-evident that a new device can not be invoked to defeat the effect of its plain provisions.

As to that other "straw" the drowning traffic is snatching at, that not two-thirds of the whole Congress but two-thirds of a quorum voted to submit the amendment, the U. S. Supreme Court has just decided in an interstate commerce case that involved exactly the same point, that two-thirds of a quorum is sufficient.

The prophecy that workmen will rebel if deprived of efficiency-destroying beverages is answered by history—there was no violence in Atlanta, Washington, Denver, Seattle, Detroit, when prohibition came in. History will rather prove the correctness of the prophesy of Abraham Lincoln, who in 1842, looking forward to national prohibition said: "Even the drammaker and the dramseller will have glided into other occupations gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. Glorious consummation."

As to the difficulties of enforcement—they will be much less when there are no "wet" border towns or States, and when FEDERAL officials are charged to enforce the law if local officers fail. A bottle may be hidden in a bootleg but a brewery can not be hid in a bone dry nation. And a United States Association of Bootleggers can not be formed to continue the work of the U. S. Brewers Association in the political domination of politics.

There is yet some fighting to do with red noses and red flags but Waterloo is won, and the main work remaining is to **follow the anti-saloon campaign with an anti-saloon campaign in preparation for a "bone dry" nation.**

Summary Feb. 1, 1919: 32 prohibition States. Six-sevenths of counties dry.

Who Won the American Prohibition Victories?

The Church of Christ has been "the main army" in this crusade. Benjamin Rush, Lyman Beecher, Albert Barnes, Justin Edwards, Moses Stewart, Thos. P. Hunt, John Marsh, E. C. Delevan, Lewis Cass, Nathaniel Hewitt, Geo. B. Cheever, Charles Jewitt, John Pierpont, Peter Stryker, A. A. Miner, Wm. H. Burleigh, Neal Dow, "Nasby" are the chief "prophets" of the first era. "The noble army of the martyrs," from Haddock to Carmack, have furnished fruitful "seed." Of living free lances, William J. Bryan, Richard P. Hobson and "Billy" Sunday stand preeminent. John B. Gough, Joseph Cook, Geo. W. Bain, Clinton N. Howard and Geo. W. Stewart, by putting anti-liquor lances in popular lectures, reached thousands who would never have attended straight temperance lectures. Of temperance organizations, the National Temperance Society is entitled to congratulations as the pioneer. The W. C. T. U. is the one tireless reform force that has worked since 1872 for every reform in every county—in almost every town. The Anti-Saloon League sits at the other "head of the table." The International Reform Bureau, starting its work just after the League, with a program as broad as that of the W. C. T. U., initiated eight of the laws Congress has passed against intoxicants, and has promoted prohibition every week since 1895—its Superintendent from 1867—by numerous lectures and much literature, including five temperance books. At the National Capital, in 1895, Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, of the Bureau, and Mrs. M. D. Ellis, of the W. C. T. U., independently but co-operatively inaugurated the "Christian Lobby." Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie began to lobby for the League soon after. They have been recognized by three national union temperance conventions as the trusted legislative agents of all temperance forces. The church temperance committees, led by Prof. Charles Scanlon, Presbyterian, and Dr. Clarence True Wilson, Methodist, have helped greatly by lectures and literature. The Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, led by Mr. D. Leigh Colvin, has wrought a great work in colleges. The "Flying Squadron," led by Governor Frank Hanly, and Hon. Oliver Stewart, had a great influence through its most comprehensive of prohibition lecture tours. Mr. Daniel Poling and Dr. Ira D. Landreth, prominent in the Squadron, permanently represent the Good Citizenship Department of the Christian Endeavor societies. Mrs. Zilla Foster Stevens, Mrs. Stella B. Irvine and Mrs. W. F. Crafts have effectively mobilized Sunday schools for the Anti-Alcohol war. Dr. Daniel Dorchester, Mr. Ernest Gordon, Miss Cora F. Stoddard, Mr. E. H. Cherrington, Mr. Harry F. Warner, have proved skillful "ministers of munitions," in the department of temperance literature. We should remember also the old prophetic "Voice," backed by Funk & Wagnalls Co., and edited by E. J. Wheeler, Wm. F. P. Ferguson and Wm. E. Johnson. The daily press has seldom been on the prohibition side in "wet" States, but three notably exceptions are: the Philadelphia North American, the Kansas City Star and the Pittsburgh Commercial-Gazette.

No leading university man was identified actively with prohibition propaganda down to the time of the war, when the patriotic aspect of the question brought Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale University very helpfully into the fight. Dr. N. S. Davis stood for many years almost alone among presidents of the American Medical Association for the discontinuance of the use of Alcohol, and especially of alcoholic drinks, as medicine. Dr. Howard Kelly, of the Johns Hopkins University, and Dr. Winfield S. Hall, of Northwestern University, are in the very short list of medical men of first rank that identified themselves with anti-alcoholic propaganda before victory was assured. Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton is one of the few welfare workers that in seeking to alleviate poverty have seen that prohibition is the "ounce of prevention" that is better than a ton of cure. A decisive part has been played by business in fighting "booze" in its own interest. And the work of Charles Stelzle in mobilizing labor against liquor as its worst foe has been important. "Our friends the enemy," by offensive domination of politics and defiance of law, have driven many of their friends to prohibition. For "bone dry" prohibition credit belongs chiefly to our leaders on the floor of Congress, especially Henry W. Blair, who introduced national prohibition amendments in 1876 and got "bone dry" one reported in 1888. In the first era the leaders were Sheppard and Wesley L. Jones, Representatives Webb, Barkley and Hon. C. H. Randall, the last named the lone prohibition Congressman, which reminds us that the Prohibition Party has done much for prohibition laws in State and nation, not alone by agitation but especially by furnishing most of the temperance leaders outside of Congress—notably our great orator, John G. Wooley—more recently allied with Anti-Saloon League.

Temperance Status of Other Continents.*

LATIN AMERICA.

While there is a difference in the temperance status between each country and every other, there is a very general resemblance among the Latin Americas. People of Spanish antecedents do not usually drink to drunkenness though most of them drink wine every day. Only in recent years has it been shown that the chief evil in the use of intoxicants is not that it produces occasional drunkenness, but rather that even a moderate use of liquor stupefies "the little white soldiers," in the blood, the leucocytes, and so breaks down the defenses of the body against microbe diseases, and at the same time lowers industrial efficiency. In Latin America, practically all who can afford to do so drink wine more or less every day, without any compunction of conscience or thought of its being in any way improper. Agitation of prohibition in North America, and especially the recognition of the effect of drink upon efficiency in war time has no doubt compelled some consideration by a few thoughtful leaders. Some people in these Latin Americas have seen that intoxicating drinks, especially the white man's drinks, are harmful to the Indians, and as they are in many cases the industrial workers, prohibition of the sale of liquor to Indians has been in a few instances put on the statute books. Such laws, however, are seldom well enforced as there are always white men ready to turn over drink to the Indians for a profit And in South America, as in Asia and Africa and Oceanica, it has been conclusively proved that prohibition applying only to one section of the adult population is of very little effect.

There is a beginning of effort towards total abstinence and prohibition in South America that should be strongly encouraged by the circulation of appropriate literature and, whenever possible, by tactful lecturers speaking preferably in the native tongue. Porto Rico's campaign for prohibition, inaugurated by the International Reform Bureau, of which the native people soon took charge, carrying prohibition by a large majority, should be considered a "demonstration" for similar campaigns in all other Latin Americas. There is further encouragement in that Panama been put under prohibition by the U. S. Government, and in the enactment of prohibition in two Provinces of Mexico, Sonora and Chihuahua. Yucatan has also voted in favor of national prohibition for all Mexico. (See prohibition argument for Latin America p. 133.)

There are a few anti-alcohol societies in South America, and in several of the Latin Americas branches of the W. C. T. U are promoting abstinence. The President of Peru has declared in favor of much greater restriction of the liquor traffic, and a prize of $500 has been offered for the best text book for teaching scientific temperance in the schools. The International Reform Buerau has secured the translation of the Hank Book of Facts About Alcohol, prepared by the Scientific Temperance Federation, as a suitable book to put into the hands of statesmen, preachers, and teachers, and other leaders all over Latin America, also in Spain and the Philippines. And the book "Shall We Spare Beer and Wine," prepared by the same scientific authority, ought to be translated and circulated by the million as it exactly meets the chief obstacle to prohibition among all the Latin races of the world, the feeling that the use of wine is relatively harmless because the amount of alcohol in a single glass is smaller than in a glass of distilled liquor. This book conclusively shows, from scientific experiments, that a "wine and beer quantity of alcohol" diminishes efficiency of body and mind.

*In the March, 1919, issue of the 20th Century Quarterly (206 Pa. Av., s. e., Washington, D. C.) there is a "Temperance Inspection Tour of the World" in which an imaginary party makes a detailed examination of every country, starting in Canada, traveling South to Cape Horn, then via Panama Canal to Greenland, Iceland, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, North to Sweden, through Germany to Italy, North through new nations cut from Austria-Hungary and Russia, then east to China and Japan, South to Siam, India, Australia, then to Persia, the Balkans and Africa.

EUROPE.

There are very great differences between European countries in drinking usages, the most marked being the fact that Southern Europe, with a warmer climate, has less drunkenness than Northern Europe; and that is doubtless one reason why Northern Europe has outrun Southern Europe in movements for abstinence and prohibition. Scandanavia was the first large section of Europe to give its people home rule or "self determination" on the liquor question. The benefits that scholars at a distance and some people in those countries ascribe to government ownership and so-called "disinterested management" through the company system or Gothenburg plan have been shown to be really due to local option. Considerable areas in Denmark and Norway and Sweden have outlawed the saloon by local option, and derive the same benefits from it that have become so famous in Massachusetts and other parts of the United States.

The war has led even this northern section of Europe to prohibit distilled liquors to a considerable extent, to save food, and there is a strong tide running in favor of complete prohibition. A few years ago the Premier of Sweden declared for prohibition, but the power of the liquor traffic has been sufficient to hold back the victory which seemed to be at hand. Another northern country of Europe, Scotland, has secured local option under the name of the Permissive Bill, and during 1920 the Scotch will have opportunities to vote whether local communities shall be wet or dry.

In Belgium, France, Italy and Switzerland, absinthe is forbidden as the worst form of distilled liquors, and during the war considerable prohibition of other distilled liquors was decreed among the belligerents of Central Europe on both sides. There was some restrictions of beer and wine also but only to save food, and it can not be reasonably expected that these restrictions will continue in time of peace unless those who believe that all forms of intoxicating liquors are harmful to the individual and to the nation bestir themselves to a swift and strong campaign of education. The need of such educational work is strikingly shown in the fact that in February, 1919, the British Government relaxed its wartime restrictions of liquors, and allowed a 25 per cent increase in the barrelage of beer and a three-fold increase in the gravity, so turning over to the workingmen at a time of perilous social unrest a larger quantity of liquors of stronger quality, which, while intended to mollify the industrial unrest, is more likely to invite violence by which it will be greatly aggravated. The workingmen of Great Britain, in 27 war plebiscites on prohibition which were held in the leading industrial centers of England, Scotland, and Wales, voted by large majorities, totalling two and a half to one, for war prohibition. And there are indications, especially in many strong utterances of labor leaders, that the working class, instead of being determined to have beer at any cost, are ready for prohibition, a majority of them, more ready than any other portion of the community. The reason why war prohibition, despite strong support, was not enacted is undoubtedly the large number of people who have financial interests in the liquor business, and the fact that many of the brewers and distillers are influential members of the "beerage" in Parliament.

While Europe lags behind North America in legislation, it has more organizations for promotion of total abstinence among young and old, and eminent scientific men are more active in educational propganda whose central "motif" is that even the most moderate use of the mildest wine and beer materially impairs physical health and mental efficiency. This purely educational work with no aid from law, in the first dozen years of the twentieth century, increased the organized abstainers in Germany from almost nothing to one hundred thousand, and reduced the per capita consumption of beer twenty-nine quarts.

Must Save New Republics from Brewers' Domination.

The problem of prohibition in Europe is made especially urgent by the fact that a dozen new republics are springing up in the center of Europe, composed of races that have long been subject to the despotic domination of stronger races. In order to hold their own in the new era it is manifest they must conserve their resources financially, and develop their manhood to the highest possible degree. The President of the Czecho-Slovaks, in a masterful address (p. 134) has shown the importance of prohibition, exposing the fallacies of those who think that there is no harm in drink unless one becomes helplessly intoxicated. He will undoubtedly lead that brave people to prohibition unless the powerful liquor interest takes an active part in secret opposition. Therefore one of the important methods of inducing the republics of Central Europe to adopt prohibition is the publication in their languages of the U. S. Senate investigation of plots of the brewers. (See p. 148.) They need prohibition not so much to protect the health of their bodies as the very life of the body politic.

It should strongly reenforce prohibition campaigns at this time, that millions in Europe and other parts of the world are short of food and every pound of grain or fruit or vegetables that is rotted for making intoxicants it taken from those who are dying of hunger.

ASIA.

Asia should be cordially credited with the inauguration of prohibition. Centuries before the Maine law was enacted, the religious leaders of India and of Arabia, in both of which there was much drunkenness, laid hold of the problem with a wisdom that was wholly lacking in the early efforts of Europe and the United States. Instead of attempting to stop drunkenness by exhorting its victims to moderation, or by licensing the drink under pretense of restriction, which is always defeated by combining it with revenue, the leaders of religion said, "Stop drinking," and the leaders in government said, "Stop selling," and they left no drug stores in the rear, with the result that fully one-third of the human race under the Hindu, Buddhist, and Mohammedan religions, all of which had made prohibition a part of their creed and law, were for centuries free from the very taint of alcohol. And these half billion people are still most of them abstainers, the exceptions being largely those who have been in close contact with the white man in military and civil affairs of government, in commerce, and in the universities which the white races have established under secular management, independent of missionary influence.

It should be said parenthetically in this connection that the one great race of Asia that has no distinctively total-abstinence religion, the Chinese, came under prohibition far back in the fourth century, through imperial edicts. The millions of China were generally free from both opium and intoxicating drinks until opium was forced on the Chinese by the dominant white race—a living refutation of the theory that all races have an irresistible craving for intoxicants.

Liquors, too, came to be tolerated, probably from the feeling that the white man would not allow prohibition; but the Chinese have never been greatly addicted to drunkenness, and even now the increasing liquor peril in China is not much recognized by them. It is one of the cases where the maxim is most appropriate, "Prevention is better than cure." The avowed purpose of the American brewers to transfer their machinery to China, to capture the lost opium market has partially awakened the sleeping giant, who may some day show a Samson's revenge in dealing with those who wrong him. Those who know the characteristics of the brewers as uncovered by the United States Senate investigation know they will transfer to China not only their machinery but their machinations—their secret devices for the control of democracies.

One of the most interesting temperance studies in Asia, in the light of the Peace Congress proposals, is India, where the British have aggressively promoted the liquor traffic against the protest of people to whom prohibition and abstinence are religious duties. This course has been on the face of it a most unwise and dangerous proceeding and will be still more so now that the people can appeal to the "self-determination of peoples." If India is not sufficiently developed for full self-government, certainly its expressed wishes in the matter of prohibition should be regarded, and it is hoped that they will make an appeal against the British license system, though not in the form of war, to "a decent regard for the opinions of mankind." There are more than a hundred temperance organizations in India, made up of Hindus, Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Christians, who are working for deliverance of India's peoples from the British license system. They are refused even local option. But now that the Peace Congress has opened the way for appeal to the world court of public opinion they should ask that the British shall restore their prohibition of intoxicating liquors, that India may enjoy, under her native religions, that which is now known to be, by the tests of science and business and politics, the best policy for the development of that people into a full civilization of the American type. The Peace Congress says emphatically that native people's shall not be exploited by their white rulers, who are required to make it their chief concern to promote the welfare of these native races. Great Britain can not reconcile that doctrine with its licensed rum and opium in India.

Since above was written there has come to the writer's attention a 1916 pamphlet prepared by Graduates Club of the Madras Y. M. C. A., ntitled, "The Temperance Section of the Madras Health Exhibit." It reports liquor investigations of the club including a count of patrons seen to enter the local toddy and arrack shops on one afternoon between 4 and 9 P. M. which indicates an average daily patronage of 12,000 Hindu males, 1,570 females and 1,640 "juveniles"; 955 Mohammedans; 6,300 "Christians." At the arrack shops the daily figures for same hours are 15,030 Hindus, 670 Mohammedans, 1,670 "Christians." These are for busiest hours, but the totals for whole day, if available would be much larger. Number of licensed shops in India was reduced from 32,367 in 1906 to 24,588 in 1916, but in the same period the revenue, the per capita consumption and the convictions for drunkenness all increased—an instructive story for those who rely on "reduction" instead of prohibition to cure the drink evil.

AUSTRALIA.

Australia and New Zealand rank next to North America in development of prohibition legislation. The writer found a few years since that while Great Britain and Germany both drank twice as much per capita as the United States, and Belgium most of all, Canada's per capita was only one-fourth and Australisia's only three-fourths of the United States figure. Nevertheless drink has been a great and growing evil in the social front of the world. Increasing areas have been put under prohibition by the slow process of local option, despite the hard requirement of a three-fourth majority. It is not a square deal where majority rule decides everything else. In every high-grade democracy, even a good sport, much more a good citizen accepts defeats by one vote as graciously as if it were ten thousand. The International Reform Bureal has loaned its Foreign Field Secretary, Prof. John A. Nicholls, for the campaign, and has backed him up with literature for leaders. New South Wales is expected to be next to vote for province wide prohibition. Tasmania has failed by a vote or two to grant a referendum.

OCEANICA.

The situation in the various islands of the Pacific inhabited by aboriginal races is quite similar. In some instances the natives when first brought into contact with the

white man had some simple native drink, wine or beer, made out of native fruits or grains, which was mildly intoxicating when used in large quantity, but was seldom so used except at some special festival. When missionaries came, the use of these native intoxicants was easily given up. But in nearly all instances the white men seized the opportunity to sell their own stronger drinks. They very soon developed the heartless theory that from the selfish viewpoint of trade it was best to provide a very raw drink that would hold the native captive, so that when he had once learned to like it he could not let it alone, and would sacrifice all that he possessed to buy a supply at frequent intervals. From the standpoint of general commerce and useful trade it was manifestly a very stupid procedure, for in the first place it killed the buying power of the natives; and in the second place it very soon killed the buyers themselves. A man who became enslaved to drink bought very few clothes or tools or utensils, and very little of the other supplies of civilization, whereas if he had been protected against these intoxicants and developed in industrial habits he would have become an increasingly large purchaser of all the common appliances of civilized life.

The Fiji Islands are one of the island groups that the writer has personally investigated. There the Methodist missionaries overcame the habit of cannibalism and developed a delightful Arcadian population, about one hundred thousand in all, of whom ninety thousand are Methodists and the other ten thousands Catholics—not an idol worshipper left among them. Under proper guidance by the supervising government they would be a very industrious and completely sober people. But those whom the British have sent there to govern have insisted on having their own drinks, and the law prohibiting the sale to the natives in the interest of their industrial efficiency, has been so poorly enforced, that, without any increases in the white population, there has been a very large increase year by year in the sale of liquors, which is conclusive proof, as the whites have not perceptibly changed their customs, that some of them are selling the drink, probably with the connivance of the officials, to the natives, who are considerably injured by it despite the restraining influence of a sincere acceptance of Christian religions.

Another case which is typical, to which the writer has given much attention, is that of the New Hebrides, where British missionaries from Australia developed exemplary life among former cannibals, that reached such a point that there was scarcely a crime committed, and scarcely a law or an officer needed. But British and American and French traders came in, and thinking only what would be business from the white man's standpoint, wholly regardless of the interest of the natives, sold them guns and rum; and these savages, with a gun in one hand and a rum bottle in the other, became like wild maniacs in their drunken revels. They would shoot children connected with the missions in the trees as if they had been birds, and many of them relapsed into savagery under the influence of the drink. Dr. John Paton, the beloved missionary, came twice to the United States to plead with the people to induce the government to call off the American traders, at least so far as the sale of intoxicating drinks was concerned, and the Gillett law was secured through the influence of the International Reform Bureau for this purpose; but it had scarcely gone into effect, much to the joy of Dr. Paton, when the French and British established a joint protectorate, and then French liquors, not only strong wines, but brandy, must be sold.

In these and all the other islands of the Pacific the new doctrine of the Peace Congress of 1919, that colones must be conducted chiefly in the interest of the native races the white governers acting as guardian mandatories in behalf of the League of Nations—should bring prohibition.

AFRICA.

Drunkenness in Africa is mostly due to the white man's example and his promotion of the drink traffic. He has partly broken down the abstinence of Mohammedans, and has led the other races that used mild native drinks to take instead the maddening drinks brought by the white man. Nations that have established colonies in Africa: British, Portugese, French and German, have made a very similar record of debauching the natives for revenue.

The situation is in many cases greatly aggravated by the use of gin or some other drink as currency. The poor negro is paid for his day's wages in certain quantity of gin. The effects upon the negro in diminishing his industrial efficiency has become so serious that in many colonies a law has been made prohibiting the sale to natives but allowing the continued sale to white men. Such legislation, as is before stated is seldom effective, as there are nearly always white men at hand who are willing to transfer liquors to the natives for their own profit. One of the convictions that will force itself on any open-minded man that reads the story of Africa is that the only effective way to protect the native is to have full prohibition for the entire population after the fashion adopted by the United States for Indian Territory.

In order to reduce industrial losses due to drink, and perhaps in some measure to satisfy the consciences of some men who are not quite content to debauch the native races, the European nations have met repeatedly in international conference at Brussels to restrict traffic in distilled liquors in Africa. Except in the one case when seventeen nations established the Congo Prohibition Zone " because of the material and moral injury wrought by the liquor traffic among the native races," they have taken the ineffective method of increasing the tax on liquors, but this increase of taxes has not even kept pace with the decreased cost of transportation due to the introduction of railroads and other facilities, so that there has been no appreciable benefit from these conventions.

An interesting example of how this effort to combine restriction and revenue works out is the present situation in South Africa, where a British government committee has reported in favor of repealing the law against selling liquors to natives on the ground that a great many of the white men are sent to jail for violating it, and therefore it should be admitted that prohibition does not prohibit, and the law should be put aside, and the criminals licensed to go on with their speakeasies under government sanction. The real motive back of this is the desire of quite respectable wine farmers, many of them prominent in South African churches, to secure the profit of an enlarged wine business.

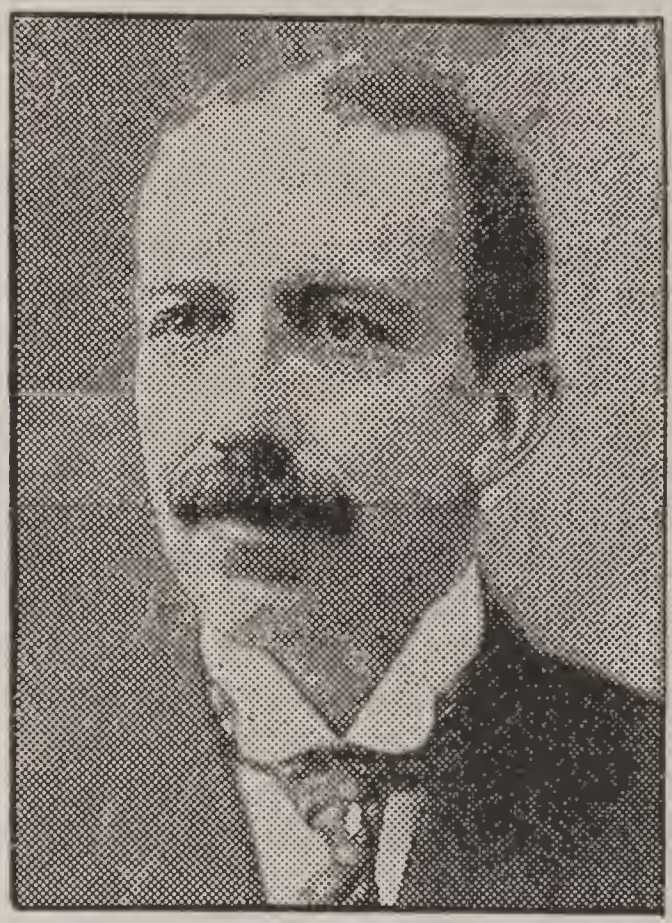
The British churches and missionary societies are making a strong fight against this proposed action, and should be strongly reenforced, especially by Americans.

The largest ray of hope for Africa is the brief intimation in one of the articles of the League of Nations that the principle is accepted by fourteen nations that are a party to that tentative League that **colonies should not be exploited, but administered chiefly in the interest of the native people themselves and only secondarily for the profit of the nations that have established** or are controlling the colonies, which in the future are to be considered "mandatories," that is, guardians, and held accountable by the League of Nations for just and humane administration that shall promote the real welfare of the natives themselves. If the humane people of civilized nations will seize on this opportunity to compel a full observance of this accepted principle, it would seem that complete prohibition of the sale of the white man's drinks at any rate might be achieved for Africa as a part of the peace settlement, and then a great campaign of education should be undertaken to prepare the way in short order for the establishment of prohibition of native beer and wine also, without which only a very inadequate alleviation for the evils of intemperance can be secured in that or any other continent.

Why National Constitutional Prohibition?

By Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, and General Counsel of
Anti Saloon League of America.

[This address was made in 1917, before the constitutional amendment was ratified, but it is still pertinent to justify the amendment and show why prohibition in every land should be nation-wide.]



The Speaker Introduced.

A measure which is of such vital importance to the nation and to coming generations should be written in our basic law, where it will be as far removed as possible from the danger of repeal in the changes of party politics.

A National Evil Requires a National Remedy.

The liquor traffic is a national evil. Our interstate commerce relations make it so. The railroads, the automobile and other means of communication make neighbors of the people in adjoining states. The evil effects of liquor cannot, therefore, be confined within state boundaries. The alcoholic may become intoxicated in one state and with the easy accessible means of transportation commit crime or become a public charge in another state. It is as impossible to confine the evils of the liquor traffic within state boundaries as it is to confine the odors of a soap factory to the premises on which the factory is located.

Recent, scientific investigations have placed liquor in a class with habit-forming drugs. The states found that they could not cope with the evils of the drug habit by state action alone. It took the federal Harrison anti-narcotic law to give adequate relief. The national policy in dealing with habit-forming drugs is to prohibit them except upon prescription of reputable physicians, yet we permit the most dangerous drug, alcohol, to be dispensed by unscrupulous and ignorant men to thousands who are ignorant of the danger of such poison beverages. The National Prohibition Movement merely says, "Put all dangerous drugs under like control."

Years ago the state realized that they could not adequately protect themselves against the infection of contagious diseases by state action alone. The Federal Government had to step in and make the movement nation-wide.

State boundaries are not adequate barriers to moral contagion and no state careless in such matters should be permitted to dump its drunks or other social and moral derelicts over the border into a neighboring state. Such interstate relations call for national action.

The effects of the liquor traffic are national, and the remedy must be as far-reaching as the evil. The patch must be as big as the sore.

National Prohibition Necessary to Safeguard Democracy.

One of the greatest purposes of the war is to "make the world safe for democracy." If the United States is to be made safe for democracy, not only Kaiserism abroad but booze autocracy at home must go. The liquor traffic is our greatest menace to the two essentials for a safe democrary, patriotism and clean politics. Patriotism is founded on intelligence and morality. Science and sense prove that liquor is a deadly foe to the brain, the seat of intelligence. As an organized traffic it decreases the number who attend schools, colleges and other places of learning. As a beverage for the individual, it weakens the brain cells and dulls the intellect. The New York Health Department in a recent bulletin said, "Civilized man is brute animal plus high brain development. Alcohol destroys the high brain development and leaves the brute animal." A democracy is safe only when the individual citizen has a clear brain to help administer the Government and solve its problems, and a moral viewpoint to guide his intelligence into proper channels.

The brewery and liquor interests are the foe to clean politics, another essential to a successful democracy.

The Milwaukee Journal, by no means a prohibition paper, made the following comment upon the brewers' activities in politics and their conviction in the Federal Court at Pittsburgh:

"The charge under which these brewers were punished was that they raised and spent a fund exceeding $1,000,000 to influence the election of a United States Senator, and thirty-six members of the lower House of Congress. The whole thing is staggering. Here was an attempt to debauch the electorate of a great commonwealth, to buy seats in the halls of Congress and to pervert to sordid and selfish purposes the government of the Nation. It was not only done in violation of law, but it is **destructive of representative government.**" (See in Index, "Brewers Political Activities."

Liquor Allied With Disloyalty.

In time of war the patriotic forces of the Government must stand united for the country. Any factor in our civilization which is disloyal to the Government or aids disloyalty should be eliminated both for times of war and of peace. When patriots are saving the crumbs and gathering up the scraps to save food to win the war, the liquor traffic demands its millions of bushels of grain to make a beverage which decreased our chances to win the war. It is a constant menace to the man-power of the nation because it shortens the lives of the alcoholics, weakens their endurance and undermines their health. The liquor traffic is a German submarine on this side of the sea, destroying the two essentials to victory, food supply and man power. It is a traitor within our camp which must be driven out to hasten a victory for democracy and civilization.

The German-American Alliance became so obnoxious to the better class of Germans in this country in recent years, that it has been repudiated by those who are more in sympathy with American ideals. Multiplied thousands of Germans who have caught the spirit of American freedom and civil liberty are opposed to the beverage liquor traffic and to that sort of Germanism which stands for "prsonal liberty," as German brewers interpret it, namely, license, licentiousness and liquor.

If America can conscript millions of our best citizens to fight the battles to make democracy safe abroad, in the name of the same kind of patriotism we must eliminate the institution which makes democracy unsafe at home.

Lawlessness of Traffic Requires National Prohibition.

National Prohibition is necessary in order to secure an honest enforcement of law against the liquor traffic in the nation. The liquor traffic is a lawless traffic. It opposes every law which restricts or prohibits the traffic as well as their enforcement. Liquor dealers, of course, claim that they favor certain restrictions and local prohibitions, but these are only favored in the places where the people are fighting for a larger prohibition. Whenever a state votes "dry" the brewers and allied liquor forces in neighboring states do their best to bring the law into contempt and to smuggle liquor into that state in defiance of the spirit and letter of the law. They fight national prohibition in the name of "state rights," and then by their lawless action violate every state's right to have its own law enforced without interference from the law-breaking liquor traffic on the outside. They claim that prohibition does not prohibit, and then do their level best to break the law so that their lawless claim shall be in part true. Wherever they control enforcement officials, the law against liquor is not enforced.

Wherever such officials unexpectedly enforce the law, as did the Mayor of Chicago, the liquor interests, and the united societies allied with them protest that the enforcement of the law is an invasion of their property. In Chicago, on Nov. 7, 1915, 41,386 persons were in line as a protest against law enforcement. They were so accustomed to having officials violate their oath of office in response to their demands that the enforcement of the Sunday closing law was denounced as an invasion of property. In nearly every state brewers are prohibited from owning saloons. In New Jersey, reports show that about 80% of the saloons are owned by the brewers. Brewers and liquor dealers secretly or openly violate practically every law on the statute books. When we face a foe that refuses to be regulated or controlled or to obey the law, there is but one consistent position for the National Government to take and that is absolute prohibition of the traffic. **A lawless traffic cannot be harbored by a single state without lowering the standard of law enforcement in the other states.**

Logic of Progress Demands National Prohibition.

Great movements founded on righteous principles constantly move forward. The progress of truth is absolutely irresistible. The rapidly advancing prohibition sentiment indicate that prohibition is based upon truth and righteousness. Ten years ago there were only three dry states in the Union. Today twenty-six states have abolished the liquor traffic. Six-sevenths of the counties of the United States have prohibited saloons and more than 15,000 villages and cities have gone dry. This means that more than 87% of the territory of the nation is free from the lawless, un-American, unpatriotic liquor traffic.

The majority of the people have a right to claim immunity from the evils encouraged by the minority.

Over 60% of the population of the United States have determined upon prohibition as the best policy of Government. The inherent lawlessness and viciousness of the traffic requires that this progress continue. The states and territory that has already gone dry cannot get the full fruits of victory as long as a single state harbors this lawless traffic within its border. The great wet centers are the cess pools of corruption and the centers of lawlessness from which the life-blood of the nation may be poisoned. Twentieth century, up-to-date, scientific methods find the cause of a disease and eliminate that as the ultimate duty to the public. The territory that has already abolished the saloon has proven the success of the policy and furnishes an unanswerable argument why the nation should follow its example. It is unfair to the states that are doing their best to fight a great national evil to handicap them in that fight by protecting this evil in a few localities in the nation and spread the evil which the large majority of the country has abolished. Intelligent citizens are not satisfied to drive back the disease-breeding mosquitoes to the swamps from which they came. They drain the swamps and thus protect the health of the citizens throughout the surrounding territory, and leave a heritage of health to future generations. The great "wet" swamps of the nation must be drained out if our country is to fulfill her mission. "States' rights" must always give way to **humanity's rights.**

National Prohibition Necessary to Carry Out Purpose of Government.

The purpose of the Federal Government is set forth in the preamble of the Constitution and in its various sections. One of these purposes is "to promote the general welfare." The courts tell us that this means the protection of the public health and the public morals. In fact, all of our rights, property rights, are held subject to this power of the people to protect their health and morals, the two essentials to organized society. This was the pronouncement of Justice Bradley years ago. The liquor traffic is a menace both to the health and the morals of the people. Every health department tells us that alcohol weakens or destroys every cell of the human body with which it comes in contact, making the user of it more liable to disease, making it less possible for him to recover from disease, and less efficient mentally and physically. That it menaces the morals of the people, every jail, penitentiary, reformatory and institution for human wreckage gives ample proof.

Fourteen times the court of last resort in this nation has stated that the liquor traffic is such a source of crime and misery, such a menace to the health and morals of the people, that "IT HAS NO INHERENT RIGHT TO EXIST AT ALL" in the state or in the nation.

The liquor traffic exists in our nation today because the people give it a permit which it has no inherent right to have. If the health and the morals of the people are essential to the perpetuity of the Government, as they are; if the liquor traffic is a menace to them, as it is; how can we be loyal to the "Old Flag," and to the government under which we live, and how can we carry out the purpose of this government if we protect and license this drunkard-making, selfish, disloyal, lawless, youth-corrupting and crime-producing traffic?

FOR EVERY REASON, THAT WE WANT OUR DEMOCRACY TO BE SAFE, OUR PATRIOTISM TO BE PURE, OUR POLITICS TO BE CLEAN, OUR LAWS TO BE ENFORCED, OUR GOVERNMENT TO BE STRONG, AND THE GENERAL WELFARE TO BE PROMOTED, THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION AMENDMENT SHOULD BE ADOPTED, AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC ABOLISHED.

Political Activities of Brewers

(From Congressional Record, Sept. 19, 1918.)

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I submit a Senate resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 307) was read, as follows:

Whereas, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, Custodian of Alien Property, on or about September 14, made the following statement:

"The facts will soon appear which will conclusively show that 12 or 15 German brewers of America, in association with the United Brewers' Association, furnished the money, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, to buy a great newspaper in one of the chief cities of the Nation; and its publisher, without disclosing whose money had bought that organ of public opinion, in the very Capital of the Nation, in the shadow of the Capitol itself, has been fighting the battle of liquor traffic.

"When the traffic, doomed though it is, undertakes and seeks by these secret methods to control party nominations, party machinery, whole political parties, and thereby control the government of State and Nation, it is time the people know the truth.

"The organized liquor traffic of the country is a vicious interest because it has been unpatriotic, because it has been pro-German in its sympathies and its conduct. Around these great brewery organizations owned by rich men, almost all of them of German birth and sympathy, at least before we entered the war, has grown up the societies, all the organizations of this country intended to keep young German immigrants from becoming real American citizens.

"It is around the sangerfests and sangerbunds and organizations of that kind, generally financed by the rich brewers, that the young Germans who come to America are taught to remember first, the fatherland, and, second, America," and

Whereas, it has been publicly and repeatedly charged against the United States Brewers' Association and allied brewing companies and interests that there is in the Department of Justice and in the office of a certain United States district attorney evidence showing—

That the said United States Brewers' Association, brewing companies, allied interests have in recent years made contributions to political campaigns on a scale without precedent in the political history of the country and in violation of the laws of the land;

That, in order to control legislation in State and Nation, they have exacted pledges from candidates to office, including Congressmen and United States Senators, before election, such pledges being on file;

That, in order to influence public opinion to their ends, they have heavily subsidized the public press and stipulated when contracting for advertising space with the newspapers that a certain amount be editorial space, the literary material for the space being provided from the brewers' central office in New York;

That, in order to suppress expressions of opinion hostile to their trade and political interests, **they have set in operation an extensive system of boycotting of American manufacturers, merchants, railroads, and other interests;**

That, for the furthering of their political enterprises, they have erected a political organization to carry out their purposes;

That they were allied to powerful suborganizations, among them the German-American Alliance, whose charter was revoked by the unanimous vote of Congress; the National Association of Commerce and Labor, and the manufacturers' and dealers' associations; and that they have their ramifications in other organizations apparently neutral in character.

That they have on file political surveys of States, counties and districts, tabulating the men and forces for and against them, and that they have paid large sums of money to citizens of the United States to advocate their cause and interests, including some in the Government employ;

That they have **defrauded the Federal Government by applying to their political corruption funds money which should have gone to the Federal Treasury in taxes;**

That they are attempting to build up in the country through the control of such organizations as the United States Societies and by the **manipulation of the foreign language press** a political influence which can be turned to one or the other party, thus controlling electoral results;

That they, or some of their organizations, have **pleaded nolo contendere to charges filed against them and have paid fines aggregating large sums of money;** Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized and directed to call upon the Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian, and the Department of Justice and its United States district attorneys to produce the evidence and documents relating to the charges herein mentioned, and to subpoena any witnesses or documents relating thereto that it may find necessary, and to make a report of the result of such investigation and what is shown thereby to the Senate of the United States as promptly as possible.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

[Those who desire to get full report of this epoch-making investigation of the efforts of organized brewers to dominate legislation and prevent law enforcement by boycotting and other forms of terrorism should apply each to his own Senator for a free copy. As the first volume is 1,387 pages, an abridge- has been made by the author of "Why Dry?" in 72 octavo pages, of which a single copy can be had free on application to Hon. C. H. Randall, M. C., Room 318 House Bldg. (there is another "C. H. Randall, M. C."), Washington, D. C. These will be sent to individual addresses at $7 per 100. A syllabus of the same can be secured by applying, with stamp, to Hon. Wayne B. Wheeler, Bliss Bldg., Washington, D. C. Help us to mail these to key men all over the world, especially in the new democracies, as a warning, at cost of $100 per 1,000. Contributions may be sent to Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph. D., 206 Pennsylvania Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C.]

America's Marvelous Escape from the Secret Domination of the Breweries.

Address of Wayne B. Wheeler, LL.D., General Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America, at Proivdence, R. I., Shubert Theatre, Sunday Afternoon, Jan. 26, 1919.

January 16th, 1919, will go down in history as "Ratification Day" with November 11th, "Armistice Day" and July 4th, "Independence Day."

To many it hardly seems possible that the legalized liquor traffic is dead in the Nation. In the light of the revelations of the investigation still pending in the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate the victory is nothing less than a miracle. That investigation reveals the methods used by the liquor interests to control this country. The foundation of their system was a survey made of the State by a camouflage organization called the Association of Commerce and Labor. Every leader in politics and business was listed and every fact ascertained that would disclose how he could be reached and controlled. The purpose was to use this when a crisis was on to control such persons to protect the liquor traffic. If a business man opposed them he was at once put on the black list for a boycott. Here are some of the firms black-listed: H. J. Heinz, the pickle king, because he was President of a Sunday School Association which declared for temperance; John Wanamaker, because he encouraged individual temperance among his employees; The Delaware-Lackawanna railroad because it enforced rigid rules against drinking by its employees, after a wreck that destroyed many lives and cost heavily in damages, which was found to be due to drink. The record even shows that they black-listed the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago because it refused to keep its bar open on Sunday in violation of the law, as other liquor dealers were doing.

The tyranny of this un-American system was never equalled in this or any other country. It hastened the over-throw of the traffic.

They used the same methods to control or destroy politicians. They followed them relentlessly for years to pay off old scores. It mattered not what faithful service they had rendered the people generally, if a politician was against liquor he must politically die. Millions of money were collected by an assessment plan to operate a corrupt political system until politics and saloon-dominated centers became a stench in the nostrils of decent people.

They reached out to control the agencies that mold public opinion. Some papers were subsidized by large advertising contracts for beer, with this string to them—they must use brewery-made editorials. In other instances, brewers furnished the money in secret to buy the papers and thus control both news and editorial policy. The evidence shows that the Washington Times, the Newark Ledger and Montgomry Advertiser were thus controlled and used. The foreign language press was in part controlled through a general manager who took their brewery advertisements and then published articles prepared by the brewers and signed by others as original articles. The opinion and sentiment of foreigners was thus poisoned against the highest ideals of this nation. Mr. John Koren, who wrote for the Atlantic Monthly and other magazines, was on their pay-roll for $5,000 a year. Every agency and avenue that could influence public thought was subsidized if it was possible.

They allied themselves with immoral interests and even made alliances with the disloyal forces of the nation. The evidence proved conclusively that the United States Brewers Association and individual brewers financed largely the disloyal and now defunct National German-American Alliance. The evidence was so astounding that Congress by a unanimous vote took from the Alliance its charter and thus condemned it as an enemy in the home camp.

Following this the custodian of alien enemy property found in the archives of the brewers taken over by the government additional damaging evidence. He felt justified in making the sensational statement: "That the organized liquor traffic is unpatriotic and pro-German in its influence." He produced the evidence to prove it. This evidence has been accumulating ever since.

This official report of the Government takes away the last alleged right of the liquor traffic to an existence. When we realize the hold which this combination had on the Nation only a few years ago, it makes us wonder what would have happened if the brewers' power had not been broken before the war began. In all probability it would have been strong enough to keep this nation out of the war, and the whole current of history and the trend of civilization would have been changed. When history is finally written and the forces are all recognized that helped to win this war, the Prohibition movement will not be one of the least.

To think that this powerful influence, with its allies, are overthrown, is a matter of congratulation to all patriots. The victory is not an accident. It is the resultant of years of persistent, organized effort on the part of the Prohibition forces. There were many regiments or divisions in the great army that won the victory. Each had an equal part and there is glory enough for all now that the victory is practically won. When these forces were united and in action they met the enemy with a zeal equal to their enthusiasm and a co-operation equal to their consolidation. Our enemy soon realized that when the forces of decency are organized and in action the gates of hell and New York City combined cannot prevail against them.

Legal Objections of Liquor Lawyers Considered.

The task is not yet completed. The law of evil is that it will spend its last dollar to defend its worthless life. This is why all these legal objections are now being discovered to drag the fight out into the courts and prolong the agony. The best legal claim the liquor interests had against ratification, that the amendment was not properly adopted by Congress, has just been decided against them in the United States District Court and the United States Supreme Court. Their other contentions are technical and will not prevail. They claim that the amendment cannot go into effect until there has been a referendum to the people. The Federal Constitution provides for no referendum. The liquor interests were against a referendum in every unit of government where such a referendum was legal. They only ask for it when they know that it would be useless and illegal. They now claim that the time limit in the amendment is unconstitutional. This time limit was proposed and urged by the opponents of prohibition. When they ask for something and then claim that their own request now is unconstitutional it is bad faith. They do not come into court with clean hands. The liquor interests cannot be injured by giving the people only seven years' time in which to ratify or in allowing one year after ratification before it goes into effect. Even if these limitations were unconstitutional they would not affect the other part of the amendment which would be valid.

The next proposition which disturbs the liquor interests is the one which gives the States and the Federal Government "concurrent" power. Under that power Congress will enact a Federal Prohibition law to apply to the whole nation. The states will enact State prohibition laws which will be operative throughout the several States. Federal officers will enforce the Federal Prohibition Act. State officers will enforce the State Prohibition Act. State officers will have as much power at least to apprehend the violators of the Federal Act and bind them over to the Federal courts, as they now have in the enforcement of existing criminal statutes. **Just as the municipality and State has concurrent power to enact prohibitory legislation in many states and use that power, just so the State and Federal Government may use concurrent power to prohibit the liquor traffic in the nation.** It will not bring conflict nor disintegration. It will simply result in team work between two units of government in the suppression of the beverage liquor traffic.

A Word to States that Have Not Ratified.

The Federal amendment has been adopted by more than thirty-six sovereign States.

The State legislatures that now pass upon this have this additional reason for ratifying the amendment. **An affirmative vote simply means an indorsement of a policy of Government already established. .A negative vote rejecting the amendment will have the effect to make it more difficult to enforce the law in the state.** It will encourage the element that threatens to violate the law. It can serve no good purpose in preventing the amendment from being adopted. It can only result in encouraging lawlessness within your borders and issuing **an invitation to enemies of the prohibition law in States which have ratified prohibition,** those to come to the non-ratifying States for immunity in breaking the law. And not only the would-be law-breakers but the unfortunate reformers whose job is about done elsewhere will naturally flock to the non-ratifying States. Every reason which influenced the members of the legislatures in the ratifying States applies in those States that have not ratified. These reasons and those just stated will doubtless be sufficient to influence their people to elect new legislatures to ratify the amendment next year or sometime within the six years allowed. There can be no good excuse for any State to go on record against the federal policy of government already established, and proclaim itself a slacker in this great movement for the advancement of civilization.

Doctors Banishing Alcohol, Welcoming Prohibition.

In opening the convention of the American Medical Association in New York in 1917, Dr. C. H. Mayo, the President, said: "No one except the policeman sees more of the results of overindulgence in alcohol, demonstrated by pauperism, sickness, immorality and crime, than the physician. Medicine has reached a priod when alcohol is rarely employed as a drug, being displaced by better remedies. **Alcohol's only place now is in the arts and sciences.** National Prohibition would be welcomed by the medical profession."

"Each decade will make clearer the gains of abstinence and will bring to its support a larger number of thoughtful people. The pressure of economic conditions will add to the disadvantage of the drinker and force to the wall with increasing rapidity those seeking to relieve their misery by the use of drugs and strong drinks. New and better forms of social control are constantly being devised, and those now in use are gaining in strength and influence. * * When we all become Americans we will all be abstainers."—Prof. Simon N. Patten, University of Pennsylvania.

Basic Principles for Enforcement of National Prohibition.

Unanimously adopted by National Legislative Conference representing twenty-two national and international organizations devoted wholly or in part to promotion of prohibition.

1. The appointment of Federal law enforcement commissioners with sufficient and adequate power and assistants to secure the enforcement of war prohibition from July 1, 1919.

2. A provision for the abatement of liquor nuisances by injunction.

3. Conferring of power upon the law enforcement commissioner with the approval of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to prescribe rules and regulations for the manufacture and distribution of wine for sacramental purposes and alcohol for non-prohibited purposes.

4. Conferring of all necessary authority on officers and fixing adequate penalties for violation of the act.

In order to make the National Prohibition Amendment effective the following provisions should underlie the draft of the code for its enforcement.

5. The sale, manufacture, transportation, importation, exportation and possession of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes should be prohibited.

6. All intoxicating liquors illegally possessed, manufactured, or sold, and all implements used in the illegal manufacture of such liquors should be considered contraband.

7. The phrase "intoxicating liquor" should include distilled, malt, fermented, vinous, alcoholic or any intoxicating liquors.

8. An adequate search and seizure provision should be added, similar to that which has proved effective in the enforcement of prohibitory laws in the states.

9. The sale of patent or proprietary medicines which are portable or capable of being used as a beverage should be surrounded by the same safeguards as the sale of alcohol.

10. Provisions should be made to prevent any scheme, device or subterfuge to evade the provisions of the act.

11. In accordance with the National Amendment, the several states should provide legislation in harmony therewith to carry out its provisions.

12. Such other provisions should be enacted as will destroy every vestige of the beverage liquor traffic throughout the United States and its possessions.

Write to Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, Bliss Bldg., Washington, D. C., for up-to-date information as to national and State laws passed or pending that embody these proposals wholly or in part. Earnest efforts will be needed to get adequate enforcement laws and faithful enforcement officers. Every State should have a workable moral law, such as the Cosson Removal Law of Iowa.

The Message of the Hour—Americanism as the cure of Bolshivikism.

"LIBERTY UNDER LAW,"

Great Utterances on Obedience to Law and Law Enforcement

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: "Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges, let it be written in primers, spelling books and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpits, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice, and, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

Gov. J. M. Patterson, Democrat, of Ohio, to Gov. W. T. Cobb, Republican, of Maine:

"Every patriotic and honest citizen must admit that all the laws on the statute books of the state should be obeyed and enforced; no one citizen has more right than any other to select what he will obey and what he will not obey. If he fails to obey them, he is not a good nor a patriotic citizen, and an officer who has taken an oath to enforce the ordinances of a village or a city and the laws of the state and fails to do so, should at once be removed. The lack of respect for law is one of the evils of the times, and all people who are patriotic and who believe in a stable form of government should realize that no form of government can exist without law, and no republic can continue except on the foundation of strict obedience to law and a proper administration of justice. The dignity of the law must be maintained or the republic will decay. Lincoln said that "reverence for law should be the religion of the Nation." This was but a strong way of expressing his idea upon the subject of law enforcement. All Christian people, irrespective of sect or creed, should be in favor of law and order and should be opposed to lawlessness."

President Benjamin Harrison, in defence of law enforcement by Mayor C. S. Denny, of Indianapolis:

"The idea that a mayor or chief of police is at liberty to permit any law or ordinance to be violated is monstrous. We choose executive officers to enforce laws and not to repeal or suspend them at their pleasure. It is subversive of our system and destructive to our social order to allow our executive officers to choose what laws they will enforce. It is not at all a question whether I like the law or whether the officer likes the law. What sort of a condition of society would we have if no man obeyed the law and no officer enforced it unless he liked it? Such questions are for the legislature and the council. To find fault with an officer for enforcing the law is to repudiate our system of government, and to vote against a candidate because he is pledged to enforce the laws is to associate one's self with lawbreakers."

Gov. Jos. W. Folk, who compelled St. Louis, St. Joseph and Kansas City to obey State Sunday laws and anti-gambling laws (let other Governors do so:)

"We hear a good deal about what is commonly called the 'lid.' When they talk about taking off the 'lid' on Sunday, what do they mean? They mean to let the law be broken with impunity. If we take the 'lid' off on the Sunday law, can we not with equal propriety take the 'lid' off the larceny statute and the murder statute? Then we would have anarchy and no government at all. Let me tell you the greatest breach of good government lies in the fact that laws are not enforced. * * * "A dozen aggressively righteous men can bring about law and order where lawlessness and disorder have prevailed. The business man who fears to give his support to any movement towards law enforcement lest it should injure his business, is just as much a coward as the soldier on the battlefield who turns his back to the enemy and flees for safety.

"Laws can be enforced in large cities and towns as well as any place if the officials want them enforced. An official can not get around enforcing the laws on the ground that public sentiment does not support the laws. Public sentiment is supporting the law or the law would be repealed at the State Legislature."

What an Assistant State Attorney Can Do

From address of Hon. C. W. Trickett, 1907, published by Phalanx, Indianapolis.

"We have tried to make the enforcement of the law in Kansas City, Kas., a permanent thing. Five hundred buildings in our city are under permanent injunction. This year, and next year, and

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This 2 pp. leaflet 25 cents per 100, postpaid, International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave., s. e., Washington, D. C. The numerous treasonable threats to violate the newest article of the Constitution makes it essential to circulate in shops and public meetings such patriotic appeals as these for loyal obedience to laws made under the orderly processes of democracy. And the lawlessness common during strikes needs also this remedy, together with a League of Compulsory Domestic Peace made by the "Middle class" which is neither capitalists nor organized labor, but chief sufferer from their quarrels and proper umpire between them.

a thousand years from now, if any individual goes into one of those buildings and sells intoxicating liquors any citizen can walk into the clerk's office, sign his name to a writ of execution, and the sheriff must go down there and abate that saloon. Fifteen hundred citizens of our town are under injunction never again to sell liquor in that county. More than 100 of the old saloon keepers are under bonds from five hundred dollars to one thousand dollars never again to sell liquor in our country. More than one hundred more are out under suspended sentence, while others are banished from Kansas."

Gov. C. E. Hughes, on Duties of Sheriffs.

The sheriff of Chemung County, N. Y., having failed to perform his duty in the matter of enforcing the law concerning baseball games on Sunday, the Governor was petitioned to remove the sheriff, which he was fully empowered to do. But the sheriff claimed that he acted under the advice of the district attorney of his county, and that he could not act in the matter of Sunday violation unless on a warrant issued on complaint of some citizen. The Governor accepted the excuse of the sheriff, because he acted under the advice of a lawyer, but he cited the decisions of courts on the questions involved, and showed that it is not the province of a sheriff to wait until complaint is made or a warrant issued. Neither should he allow a lawyer to stand between him and his duty. The Governor made it clear that, while he excuses the sheriff in the present instance, the latter need not expect leniency in the future. And what he said to the sheriff of Chemung County ought to be a warning to the sheriffs of other counties.

What Judges Can Do.

Judge J. C. McWhorter, West Va.:

"A judge, with an eye single to the public weal can, in the discharge of his official duties, do much in support of the great moral and civic reforms of his time. He has a certain oversight of the officials under him and can do much to compel unwilling officers to do their duties. In West Virginia all jurors are selected by two jury commissioners who are appointed by the judge and removable at his pleasure. As a general rule, juries have heretofore been made up too largely of idlers, bums, loungers and court hangerson, and generally inferior men, who were so sympathetic with liquor lawlessness as to require more evidence to convict a man for illicit selling than to convict him for murder. This has made the enforcement of our liquor laws most difficult and ineffective. Therefore, when the judge appoints these jury commissioners, one from each political party, let him tell them plainly that in the selection of jurors they shall select no drinkers or loungers or questionable characters, or men who solicit selection, but that they shall select only the best, busiest, most honorable, moral, sober and upright citizens of their counties, and that any departure from this rule will result in the immediate removal of such commissioners from office. By the adoption of this plan I have in my circuit, as a general thing, jurors who fearlessly do their duty and whom liquor criminals most wholesomely dread. Then, again, we must remember that ours is a government of law, and that no law is effectively enforceable unless backed by a favorable public sentiment. The want of this sentiment has always been a woeful hindrance to the enforcement of the liquor laws. By his charges to grand juries, by his talks on all opportune occasions, by his very attitude on this question, the judge can help to build up this sentiment. The judge can, in a very proper way, encourage temperance people to appear at the trials of liquor cases, and by their presence and interest nerve the arm of the prosecuting attorney, discourage the sickening perjury of witnesses in such cases, and secure even-handed justice and fairness of trials by offsetting with their presence the silent influence upon court officers, witnesses and jurors arising from the invariable presence at such trials of the votaries of liquor lawlessness and the sympathizers with the rum traffic in all of its forms."

A CITIZENSHIP OATH.

We will never bring disgrace to this, our city, by any act of dishonesty, or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks. We will fight for the ideal and sacred things of the city. We will revere and obey the city's laws and do our best to excite a like respect and reverence in those above us who are prone to annul and set them at naught. We will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty, and thus in all these ways we will transmit this city, not only not less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us.

The Ephebic Oath taken by the young Athenians when assuming the responsibility of citizenship.

Can Prohibition be Enforced?

By Prof. Irving Fisher, Yale University.

There are many friends of temperance who view with great misgiving the prospect that by next March the prohibition amendment to the national Constitution will have been adopted. Some of them are refusing to take any part in the movement for ratification, and some, like Mr. Taft, have definitely opposed ratification. Were it not for the doubts of these conservatives the belief in prohibition would now be almost unanimous. **The doubt still lingering is chiefly as to the enforceability of prohibition.**

Mr. Taft's position is typical of the conservative. He explicitly states that he is no friend of alcohol; that he is personally a total abstainer; that he is not in the least staggered by the impending losses to those who have financial interests in the liquor traffic (for the reason that, for half a century, these people have had ample warning, including one from the Supreme Court of the United States, that their investments in this predatory business are at their own risk, and that they can expect no compensation); that he would be glad to see the saloon in politics deposed; that he is in favor of local and state-wide prohibition wherever enforceable; and, above all, that he is not deluded by the "individual liberty" argument.

As to "individual liberty" he says, "I think that in the interest of the community and of the man who cannot resist the temptation to drink in excess, if he has the opportunity to drink at all, other citizens in the community may properly be asked and compelled to give up drinking, although that drinking may do them no injury."

This strong statement will remove the last objection to prohibition in the minds of thousands of people, especially as modern science demonstrates that there is no drinking "which does no injury." **The only real issue therefore is as to whether prohibition really prohibits.**

The whole argument of Mr. Taft and of the other few remaining opponents of prohibition (outside of those commercially interested in the liquor traffic) revolves around this question of enforceability. Assuming the unenforceability of prohibition, other objections follow. If prohibition is enforceable only according to local sentiment and if it is enforceable in some places and unenforceable in others, it is a local rather than a national question, and its introduction into national legislation is an undue disturbance of the relations between the national and the local governing bodies. Again, if prohibition is unenforceable in one locality, any attempt by the national Government to enforce it will result in corruption, a lowering of the respect for law, a perversion of our national politics, and an undue and dangerous power in the hands of the executive.

TO SHOW THAT PROHIBITION IS REALLY ENFORCEABLE WE SHOULD CONSIDER TWO THINGS, NAMELY, PAST EXPERIENCE AND THE FORCES OUT OF WHICH OUR FUTURE EXPERIENCE MUST COME.

We have three important facts in past experience which ought to be more generally appreciated:

(1) Modern prohibition is already fairly well enforced, far more completely so than the public outside of prohibition territory have been led, by the misleading publicity of the liquor interests, to realize. The long and favorable experience of Kansas is especially noteworthy. Even in Maine prohibition prohibits and has long prohibited in the country districts, and has some restraining influence even in the cities, where its partial failure has been so widely advertised.

(2) Evasion of liquor laws is more common where liquor is licensed than where it is prohibited. Investigation shows that "speak-easies" are actually more numerous in "wet" than in "dry" territory. In short, if prohibition is not completely enforceable, the other alternative, regulation, is less so. I will add, parenthetically, that the recent congressional committee on narcotics finds that morphine and other drug addiction is more common in "wet" than in "dry" territory.

(3) The public sentiment for prohibition, on which enforcement must always rest, has grown prodigiously in the last twenty years. Already about two-thirds of our population and three-fourths of our territory is under local or state prohibition.

With these facts behind us we can readily forecast what is before us if we will stop to analyze the forces at work. Most of the few remaining **disinterested** opponents of prohibition would, I think, change their minds if they would make the analysis for themselves. It will show that prohibition will be more enforceable in the future than it is at present, and that national prohibition will be far more easily enforceable than local prohibition.

Let us first list the various primary forces which are arrayed against each other. By examining them we can best decide which side must win permanently. We find six chief forces working for prohibition, namely: (1) Modern Science; (2) Modern Industry; (3) The War; (4) Modern Ideals of Health and Efficiency; (5) Moral Sentiment; (6) The Organization of these Anti-Alcohol Forces.

Against prohibition we find: (1) Commercial Interests; (2) Conservatism; (3) Alcohol Drug Addiction; (4) The Organization of these Pro-Alcohol Forces.

First as to modern science. Physiology has found that alcohol is out of place in human insides. However we may smack our lips over "fine wines," we always dull our nerves thereby, just as Alice in Wonderland did no good to her watch by introducing butter into its insides, although it was the "very best butter"! Most careful and delicate tests prove that, even in small quantities, alcohol "slows down" our nerves. Again, statistical and actuarial science has demonstrated that even steady drinking, not more than what is ordinarily called moderate, raises the death rate over 80 per cent.

The importance of this new scientific factor cannot be overestimated. It is only a question of informing the public generally of what almost every physiologist, physician, actuary, statistician and economist already knows. Such a solid basis for prohibition will then exist that not one per cent of the community will want its repeal any more than we now want the repeal of anti-opium laws.

The hoary ideas that alcohol is useful for the manual worker or the brain worker will disappear with the same mathematical certainty that the hoary ideas that the earth was flat and that the sun revolved about it disappeared with the progress of scientific knowledge.

Secondly, modern industry has "no use for alcohol." Scientific management is applying the sciences of physiology, psychology and statistics to increase output just as it is applying the sciences of mechanics and chemistry. A Connecticut manufacturer says that careful estimates indicate that prohibition would increase his output 25 per cent. A number of estimates of other producers in this and other countries range between 9 per cent and 50 per cent.

Thirdly, as to the war. Before this war the Kaiser said that next war would be won by the armies and navies using the least alcohol. The American Army and Navy are using the least alcohol, and they seem to have proved the Kaiser right for once!

Fourthly, as to modern ideals. Unlike the ideals of the past, these are ideals of work, not leisure. There was a time when the English "gentleman" had to prove his gentility, i. e., the fact that he had nothing to do but enjoy himself, by a weekly carouse. Today these aristocratic ideas of leisure give place to democratic ideas of universal work.

After the war these ideas of increasing our power to work in industrial and professional life will grow stronger. The war will spread the soldier's ideal of personal fitness in which alcohol has no part. The war will, by its very destruction of life, make a new and stronger movement for life conservation, in which alcohol can have no part. The war will have destroyed wealth and made a keener industrial competition, in which alcohol can be allowed to have no part.

Thus we already see that the first of our six allies now fighting for prohibition will only wax stronger with time.

We turn for a moment to compare the forces on the opposite side of the fight.

As to the first and most powerful pro-liquor force, that of the commercial interests involved, it is obvious that this will be entirely destroyed through national prohibition.

Here at present lies the real strength of liquor. Pro-liquor sentiment exists chiefly because it is bought and paid for. There is a vast pro-liquor propaganda, purchased and fostered by skilful advertising and the allurements of the saloon. Behind the resistance to prohibition, behind even that resistance of the many who have no personal sympathies with the saloon but are merely misled by false arguments, are the liquor interests and their lying or misleading statements. It is their campaign funds, corruption funds, able paid attorneys and agents, lobbyists, editors and newspapers which influence elections, legislation and law enforcement contrary to natural public sentiment. As soon as the liquor interests can no longer supply the sinews of war and can no longer use "wet" states as a base of operations for attacking the "dry" states, the mainspring of the resistance to prohibition will be broken at last. Prohibition in Maine is successful in the country districts. The chief cause for the frequent partial failure of prohibition in certain city districts in Maine lies not in Maine, but in the money power of the liquor interests outside of Maine.

As to the second factor opposing prohibition, conservatism, this also is extremely powerful, but it **has no resilience.** Its tendency is to keep matters as they are, whatever they are. After a generation of prohibition, as in Kansas, drinking becomes "bad form," so that the force of custom, or tradition, so far from threatening a return of liquor, changes sides and becomes, instead, one of the strongest safeguards against such return. We are all influenced by the customs about us. Contrast the Kansas social atmosphere, where any use of alcoholic beverages seems to decent people disgraceful, with the social atmosphere in Europe! A student in a certain European university was expelled by the faculty a few years ago because he refused to drink the toast of the king in wine!

As to the third factor on the side of liquor, namely, the alcohol drug habit, it also will tend to disappear after prohibition. It is true that drug addicts have little scruple about breaking anti-drug laws. It is old topers who will have illicit stills in their cellars, and this species of law evasion will not completely disappear until the generation of topers has died out—an event which will be accelerated by the "toping" itself! But, under prohibition, the recruiting of alcohol drug addicts will almost wholly cease; for new recruits are now chiefly brought in by the blandishments of hospitality, the "free lunch," advertising, etc., which will automatically disappear almost wholly the instant prohibition is adopted.

Of the forces thus far mentioned, all the forces for prohibition will grow stronger after prohibition; and all those against it, weaker.

There remain two forces for prohibition and one against it still to be noticed.

As to the "moral sentiment," it also will grow stronger with prohibition. This is the experience in Kansas and other prohibition states, and the reason is that, as Sumner has shown, morals rest largely on the "mores" or customs of society. The rarer and more secretive drinking becomes, the more repugnant it becomes to the moral sense of the community. If nearly "everybody is doing it" the rest have to condone it. I once attended a church conference in Berlin and found beer being served. It never even occurred to the German mind that this was unbecoming to the church. On the other hand a Yale instructor coming from Kansas had his moral sense greatly shocked by seeing saloons in New Haven actually daring to show their signs on the public streets! We think nothing of what is common. It is the exceptional which excites us. When tuberculosis becomes as rare as smallpox, we shall guard against it as much; and when drinking becomes as rare as opium-eating, we shall be as morally indignant.

There still remain two forces, namely, the forces of organization on each side. * * * It is true that reformers, after securing legislation, often promptly go to sleep while the forces of evil, against which they have been fighting, are said never to sleep. Many a town and sometimes a state has gone dry and its good citizens failed to keep it dry. But this has been because the organization of the liquor forces has been kept alive by financial support from outside.

Just here lies the peculiar merit of national prohibition as distinct from local or even state-wide prohibition. The United States Brewers' Association is a national body. This fact, of itself, makes prohibition a national and not a local question; for it is only through national prohibition that the great nerve center of this octopus can be destroyed. What has thus far been done is simply to amputate some of its tentacles. * * *

Only national prohibition can and will prevent national mobilization of the liquor forces in local battles where the anti-liquor forces cannot be so well mobilized; and national prohibition alone can and will destroy the United States Brewers' Association and its ramifications, by cutting off its nutriment. As soon as national prohibition is effected, especially if constitutional, the most gigantic and insidious influence in our political and social life, our chief "invisible government" will be as dead as the Spanish Armada and with it will wither much organized political corruption. **So far from introducing corruption and disrespect for law national prohibition will reduce these evils greatly by killing their** organization. Resurrection can never occur because it would cost too much money and nobody would have a financial interest in furnishing the money. **The constitutional amendment, once passed, can never be repealed.** Thirty-six states can never be induced to vote for repeal. **The irrevocability of the step will show the brewers the hopelessness of further fighting.** The liquor question will then be **settled** because the liquor men will be put out of business. It will never be settled before. The same principle applies to this warfare as applies to military warfare, namely, that permanent peace comes after the surrender of the enemy forces and not before.

Many reason that if local prohibition fails in some localities, national prohibition would certainly fail in at least those localities and also in others. But they should reason that if local prohibition succeeds in some places national prohibition would succeed in those places and also in others.

It is unsafe to reason by analogy. Many people speak of the difficulties of enforceability as though they would be the same under national prohibition as under local prohibition. But they will be immensely lessened. **National prohibition will have introduced an unprecedented condition; for it will have given the coup de grace to organized liquor.** The liquor forces will collapse like a house of cards. The teachings of modern science will be accepted without further contest, the needs of industry and labor will be regarded. The ideals of work, efficiency and health as well as of moral sentiment will flourish while conservatism will help prohibition as much as it now resists it.

Evasion also will be far more difficult. A brewery is like a city on a hill. It cannot be hid. It is too large. In prohibition states there are no breweries though there are small hidden saloons dispensing the products of the breweries of wet states. Prohibition will eliminate these breweries instantly. Without great breweries anywhere in the United States there can scarcely be many successful saloons, however small.

It will, therefore, be seen that prohibition is really a national, not a local, question because the liquor interest is nationally organized and because national prohibition, for several reasons, can succeed where local prohibition would fail.

The prohibition movement rests on a solid basis. It is not a mushroom growth due to the war and most of the successes of prohibition were achieved before the war. Nor is the movement for prohibition today primarily an emotional movement. It rests rather on the cold-blooded calculations of the scientist, the statistician, the economist, the public health officer, the industrial manager and the military expert.

To the conservative, who has not followed or understood the prohibition movement and who cannot decipher the handwriting, which he begins, in a dazed way, to see on the wall, the movement seems an enigma. To actually wipe liquor off the map seems to his unimaginative mind as impracticable as the destruction of the Chinese opium traffic seemed a generation ago or as the abolition of slavery seemed before the Civil War.

But these same conservatives will see it all clearly after it has all unfolded. They, being by nature law-abiding citizens, will then, themselves, help make law enforcement easy. * * * The sentiment for making prohibition prohibit will be universal (except among drug addicts), the manufacture of artificial sentiment against it will have ceased, and the sound teachings of scientific, industrial and military experts will be generally accepted and applied.

MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD, LL. D., President of World's Womans' Christian Temperance Union, 1889:

As there is but one keystone to an arch so there is but one to the prohibition movement. In the nature of the case this must be so, and every temperance expert knows that prohibition by amendment to the National Constitution is that keystone to the arch, that clincher of the argument, that final outcome of the mightiest reform movement under the sun.

MRS. L. M. N. STEVENS, President of National W. C. T. U., 1911:

To America, the birthplace of the National and World's W. C. T. U., we hereby proclaim that within a decade prohibition shall be placed in the Constitution of the United States, and to this end we call the active co-operation of all temperance, religious and philanthropic bodies, all patriotic, fraternal and civic associations, and all Americans who love their country.

MOST DISTINGUISHED OPPOSER OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION URGES LOYAL OBEDIENCE TO THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION

EX-PRESIDENT WM. HOWARD TAFT, Feb. 5, 1919:

Now the Secretary of State has by proclamation declared the adoption of the amendment by action of Congress and the approval of the requisite number of State legislatures. It is now the duty of every good citizen in the premises, no matter what his previous opinion of the wisdom or expediency of the amendment, to urge and vote for all reasonable and practical legislature measures by Congress adopted to secure the enforcement of the amendment.

Those who claim that the amendment has not been constitutionally adopted have nothing substantial on which to base their claim. The further argument that the amendment is void because inconsistent with the fundamental constitutional compact as to personal liberty, or reserved power of the States, as, for instance, a change of representation of the States in the Senate would be, is "moonshine."

This is a democratic government, and the voice of the people, expressed through the machinery provided by the constitution for its expression and by constitutional majorities, is supreme. Every loyal citizen must obey. This is the fundamental principle of free government. It is this principle which the bolsheviki are fighting with wholesale assassination and starvation of their fellow citizens. One who, in the matter of national prohibition, holds his personal opinion and his claim of personal liberty to be of higher sanction than this overwhelming constitutional expression of the people, is a disciple of practical bolshevism. Those who oppose passage of practical measures to enforce the amendment, which itself declares the law and gives to Congress the power and duty to enforce it, promote the non-enforcement of this law and the consequent demoralization of all law.

This was the evil result opponents of the amendment prophesied, and they are thus doing all they can to vindicate their view. Such a course is unpatriotic and is not playing the game of self-government fairly. * * *

The liquor interests and the trades having a profit in the business are now spending much in fulminating advertisements, which give false hopes that the doom which has been pronounced on liquor manufacture and traffic may be averted. Such efforts must be stimulated more by the selfish motives of paid organizers of the liquor interests who have funds to expend and who have to justify their employment, than by any real hope of defeating prohibition already here. These advertisements are only the dying swan-song. **They are the last kick of liquor organizations whose own intolerance, truculence and corrupting influence in politics have stirred many otherwise conservative people to this radical step.** * * *

Forty years ago, and more, all who ventured money in the liquor business were advised by the judgments of the Supreme Court of the United States that the guaranty of the Constitution that liberty and property could not be taken from any person without due process of law did not prevent the legislative power from protecting the morals or health of the community from the evils of intoxicating liquors by prohibition of the manufacture or sale of liquor, and that without any compensation for losses incident to the ending of the business or of the use of property for the purpose. * * *

All manufacture of intoxicants on a large scale must and will cease when the law takes effect. First, violations will be largely in sales from stocks accumulated against "a rainy day." These should, of course, be vigorously prosecuted, but attempts to sequester and destroy stocks of private persons kept for their own use will strain the constitutional power of Congress and will be of doubtful advantage in the long run.

With Canada dry and the Mexican border remote and the customs examinations searching and open manufacture easily preventable, all substantial sources of supply will soon be dried up except one. That one is the manufacture of alcohol in some form with small, movable and easily concealed devices. The product will be impure and deadly in its character and, of course, its making must be suppressed with a heavy hand. * * *

If, after a decade's trial, the change proves a failure and some other remedy for the drink evil seems wiser and better, we must count on the American people, who have no obstinate pride of opinion, to retrace their steps and try again. But meantime **enforce the amendment, which is the law of the land.**

Why the Temperance Man Should Take a Pledge

Address by Henry Churchill King, LL. D., President of Oberlin College

The question that I am asked to answer seems to me to involve two: Why should an acknowledged temperate man become a total abstainer? And, why should he be a pledged total abstainer?

From the very beginning, let it be clearly understood that in arguing for total abstinence, no attitude of universal condemnation of users of liquor is assumed. My own circle of acquaintance includes too many men of undoubted high character who use intoxicating liquor to some extent, to make it possible for me to take such an attitude of universal condemnation.

Why a Total Abstainer?

The first reason for total abstinence seems to me to lie in the real danger of even a moderate use of intoxicating liquor. For it must be recognized that "the action of alcohol on the brain is the prime cause of alcoholic consumption." And this "action of alcohol on the nervous system" is, as the Outlook says, in its review of this report of the Committee of Fifty, "one of its most important and most unfortunate characteristics. It is this action which leads to the 'craving' for drink." This seems to me simply to mean that the tendency of the use of alcoholic liquor is almost unavoidably toward immoderation. And when one adds, with Dr. Josiah Strong, to this natural effect of alcohol upon the nervous system, the consideration of the influence of our national temperament and climate, he can hardly fail to see that the use of alcoholic liquors by Americans is in all probability attended with considerably greater danger than their use by many other peoples in other climates. It is this direct effect of alcohol on the nervous system which brings about the often plainly immoderate use of intoxicating liquors; a use seen to be immoderate not only by others but by the man himself. And it is quite as manifest that the use of liquor has often become really immoderate in the judgment of a man's friends when he himself would not admit that he had gone beyond the point of strict moderation; for his judgment is itself affected by his indulgence. And this latter fact is no doubt one of the reasons why such large numbers of men are swept off their feet by the use of alcoholic drinks. The plain facts are such as hardly to warrant a man in the judgment that he is in no danger from an attempted moderate use of intoxicating liquors. Too many men of mental and volitional ability quite equal to his own have been carried to utter ruin by the drink habit to justify any one, probably, in thinking the practice one without danger to himself. I emphasize this point, because it seems to me that we often take the ground that we are abstaining simply for the sake of others, when we need really to see and admit the real danger for ourselves, and to abstain simply for that reason, if there were no other; not selfishly, but that we may be sure that we shall make the best, the very best, of ourselves. Without wishing, therefore, to exaggerate in the slightest degree the facts concerning the danger, I am myself thoroughly persuaded that the most rational attitude, in view of the facts, is to say with Paul: "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful, but I will not be brought under the power of any."

But even assuming that the moderate drinker might be sure that he would not be carried into a condition that meant total ruin for himself, the second reason for total abstinence seems to me to lie in the appeal of the physiological facts to the man who

really wishes to be persistently at his best. .And upon this point I wish simply to quote from the Outlook's summary of the report of the Committee of Fifty. This summary includes, for example, the following conclusions: (1) "Dr. Abel agrees with the majority of observers, that no benefit is derived by people in health from the use of alcohol, so far as its effect upon the nervous system is concerned." (2) And Professor Atwater, though he contends, with probable correctness, that in a certain sense alcohol is a food, still adds: "If I may be permitted the expression of a personal opinion, it is that people in health, and especially young people, act wisely in abstaining from alcoholic beverages." (3) And, again, in summing up the result of the experiments upon animals by Dr. Hodge of Clark University, the Outlook says: "The conclusions, amply justified, are that the normal resistance to certain germ diseases is markedly diminished by alcohol." (4) "The experiments also prove the general conclusions of hygienists, that in feats of strength and endurance, alcohol should be avoided." (5) And again, "There is no question as to the injurious effect of a continued use of even small quantities of alcoholic liquors upon children." (6) Dr. Abel himself says: "In all these avocations of life where keen senses, sharp attention, ready and immediate use of a clear judgment, or great concentration of the mind, are called forth, alcohol in any form or amount is injurious when taking during performance of the duty in hand."

These conclusions of a report that cannot be regarded as in any way one prejudiced in favor of total abstinence, seems to me to contain, nevertheless, a strong appeal, as I said, to the man who really wishes to be persistently at his best. They seem clearly to indicate that the man in health does not need alcohol, and is in all probability decidedly better off without it; and that, if he desires persistently keen senses, sharp attention, ready and immediate use of a clear judgment, or great concentration of mind, he will, at least when he needs these qualities, abstain from the use of alcoholic drinks. And it is for each man to say for himself whether there are any times when he can afford deliberately to fall below his best.

It is in direct line with these conclusions that, in business and industrial life, employers are increasingly insisting that men on whom any considerable responsibility falls, should practice total abstinence. I cannot believe that the seemingly contrary tendency at present seen in social life is soundly grounded.

The third reason to be urged for total abstinence is, of course its influence upon others. For myself, the mere fact that, at a moderate estimate, probably hundreds of men are annually carried, by the use of alcoholic liquor, into a condition in which they are of small or no value either to themselves or to society, seems to me to be a sufficient reason why I should throw the entire influence of my individual practice in favor of total abstinence. In no other way can one be certain that he is throwing the full weight of his influence against the evil of intemperance. The simple chance that my individual or family use of alcoholic liquors might be the occasion of starting another man in a custom that would mean absolute ruin to him, seems to me sufficient reason for total abstinence.

And in saying this, I do not forget that there are two classes of weaker brethren, and that you may stumble a man by making that a sin for him which is no sin, as well as by leading him into some course of action which his conscience condemns. But where the issues at stake are so great as they manifestly are in the use of intoxicating liquors, and where the gains of the use are so doubtful, I must believe that Paul's principle has real application: "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh forevermore, that I make not my brother to stumble."

Because, then, of the real danger to the user of alcoholic beverages, because of the appeal of the physiological facts to the man who really wishes to be persistently at his best, and because of the natural influence on others I adopt for myself, and urge upon others, the policy of total abstinence.

Why a Pledged Total Abstainer?

To the second question, Why be a pledged total abstainer? I begin my answer once more with what seems best for my own highest good. And here, in the first place, the dangers seem to me so real and great, the benefits so meager and doubtful, the bearings of the question so wide and deep, that I count it better definitely to face and decide the question of the use of liquor once for all; and to decide it in the line of abstinence.

Such a pledged attitude, moreover, seems to me to be most in line with the safe and sane rational life urged in the following paragraph of James's Psychology:

"The great thing, then, in all education, is to make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy. It is to fund and capitalize our acquisitions, and live at ease upon the interest of the fund. For this we must make automatic and habitual, as early as possible, as many useful actions as we can, and guard against the growing into ways that are likely to be disadvantageous to us, as we should guard against the plague. The more of the details of our daily life we can hand over to the effortless custody of automatism, the more our higher powers of mind will be set free for their own proper work. There is no more miserable human being than one in whom nothing is habitual but indecision, and for whom the lighting of every cigar, the drinking of every cup, the time of rising and going to bed every day, and the beginning of every bit of work, are subjects of express violition deliberation. Full half the time of such a man goes to the deciding, or regretting, of matters which ought to be so ingrained in him as practically not to exist for his consciousness at all. .If there be such daily duties not yet ingrained in any of my readers, let him begin this very hour to set the matter right."

I cannot think it wise to leave a question so important and so continually recurrent as the use of alcoholic liquor to continual reconsideration. The very attempt at moderation compels one to give far more time and attention to this question than it is worth. A policy of abstinence, on the other hand, is clearly safe, and in line with James's principle, leaves the man with the higher powers of his mind just so far set more free for their own proper work. In other words, this is a question that it seems entirely possible to turn over to habitual action, without any serious loss. Where that is possible, psychology seems to me to urge the wisdom of such a policy.

The second reason why a pledged total abstinence seems to me desirable, is because a pledge-signing movement is the most natural, and perhaps the only way to make definite and decisive the much-needed movement for a personal temperance. The mere arousing of sentiment in this direction is not enough. Such sentiment is easily and almost certainly dissipated, unless it is crystallized in some definite resolution or action. The total abstinence pledge gives just such a needed expression to the aroused temperance sentiment. One may well face the question for himself, and ask how else such a movement for personal temperance could be made really effective

Once more, a pledged total abstinence seems to me desirable because it is **the most positive and definite way in which one's influence can be made effective for others.** The man who has pledged himself to total abstinence has thereby put himself on record, as far as he possibly can, in favor of such a policy for all men. And the full weight of his influence in that direction can hardly be felt in any other way.

The varieties of pledges, too, seem to me to meet the only serious objections that can be made to the pledge-signing movement. Young children are not asked to pledge themselves for life, and any one in doubt of the full wisdom of the total abstinence policy can take a pledge limited as to time.

I see no reason, therefore, why the whole burden of the proof does not rest upon others than the total abstainer.

SIGN WITH LINCOLN. THIS PLEDGE HE SIGNED IN YOUTH.

WHEREAS: The use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage is productive of pauperism, degradation and crime: and believing it is our duty to discourage that which produces more evil than good, we therefore pledge ourselves to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

.....

Have extra copies of pledge printed for every class in Sunday school, for every two pews in church, for every row of seats in hall and a pencil ready with each one.

EDUCATION IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL NEEDED EVERYWHERE AGAINST OLD FALLACIES ABOUT ALCOHOL.

Welfare workers found it desirable in Madras, India, to get the opinions of a dozen leading physicians on following points, on which verdict was "No" in every case. Will alcohol restore warmth to mother and infant after bath? Will it promote growth of children? Does it sharpen one's mental powers? Does it promote appetite and help digestion? Will it healthily remove fatigue? Does it produce healthy and refreshing sleep? Will it remove muscular or internal pain? Will it prevent or cure malaria, coughs, colds and bronchitis? Does habitual use of alcohol have nutritive and strength-building value? In the United States another question would be asked by many, Will it cure snake bites?

Prohibition will suffer from drug stores in the rear, and quack doctors also, so long as "medicinal" exceptions are necessary because of popular misconceptions. In 1885 the writer published in "The Temperance Century" an article by the then editor of the Journal of Chemistry saying that educated physicians and chemists could provide a substitute for every use of alcohol in medicine and the arts, and that such substitution is necessary, with the entire elimination of drinkable alcohol, to make prohibition fully effective.

Beer and Wine Pals of Whiskey.

[From booklet entitled "Shall We Save Beer and Wine?" by Scientific Temperance Federation, published by International Reform Bureau at $1.00 per 100; 25c per dozen, postpaid. Sent free on application with stamp of any country.]

An age-old fallacy is trying to perpetuate itself in the retention of beer and wine. Whiskey and its kindred spirits have been thrown overboard—so far as their manufacture is concerned—but beer and its sister wine still clamor for continued existence. It has even been asserted in Congress that "beer is an innocent drink," that it is right and necessary for whiskey to go, but beer and wine—ah! That is another story.

There is nothing in history or everyday experience or science to confirm these beliefs.

The drunkenness that characterized Rome in her decadent days was wine drunkenness. The drunkenness against which Israel's prophets thundered was wine and beer drunkenness. The drunkenness which called out restrictive legislation in early Egypt was beer and wine drunkenness. The drunkenness which caused an emperor of China centuries ago to order all grape vines uprooted was wine drunkenness. The art of distilling spirits was unknown until less than a thousand years ago. The drinks which caused the intoxication of which we hear way back in almost prehistoric periods were the drinks derived by fermentation from fruits and grains—the wines and beers of various kinds. No, history's evidence fails totally to confirm the belief that sobriety lies along the wine and beer route.

The reason is simple. Wine and beer contain the same alcohol as spirits. The proportion is smaller it is true, but the larger amount of beer and wine consumed easily averages up the alcohol content.

Place on the table before you a half pint of light wine containing no more than eight per cent of alcohol. Put beside it a pint of four per cent beer—about two glasses of beer. Next place a glass containing about three tablespoonfuls of whiskey. The three quantities of liquor—a half pint of eight per cent wine, a pint of four per cent beer, and three tablespoonfuls of forty-two per cent whiskey—all of them frequently taken by drinkers of the various beverages—contain the same amount of alcohol, a little less than two-thirds of an ounce.

It is true that the more concentrated forms of alcohol produce certain results more immediately, but the man who drinks his half pint of wine daily or his two glasses or more of beer is just as surely submitting his body and mind to the deleterious effects of alcohol as the man who chooses to go down the whiskey slide. It may take longer, he may not deteriorate with such conspicuous speed, but injury sooner or later makes itself apparent. It is conceivable that a man might take an infinitesimal quantity of an alcoholic liquor fairly regularly without its doing demonstrable harm. But that is **not the way** men drink. They do not as a rule even begin with the infinitesimal amount, much less hold themselves to it.

Furthermore the average drinker does not begin with spirits. The drink habit in the vast majority of cases begins in the late teens or early twenties. What does your young man—or young woman—begin with? Spirits? Rarely. They wander along the mildly intoxicating paths of beer or wine until these drinks no longer suffice to produce the false pleasure they have learned to seek in the alcoholic poison, and then the jaded palate turns to the stronger liquors.

And it is perhaps partly for this reason that the spirits drinker shows the effects more quickly. A constitution already undermined by the alcohol in beer or wine may show very marked results more quickly from the concentrated drinks than the person who is still in the beer and wine stage, but in either case the alcohol is at work producing its deteriorating and life-shortening effects.

A Fine Sample of Prohibition in Africa.

[From an article by Dr. Fisch in Contemporary Review.]

I had the privilege four years ago of taking a journey into the prohibition district of the Northern Gold Coast and Togo. This gave me an opportunity to note the difference between the prohibition and non-prohibition districts. * * * When we invited a chief to say to his people that I was a doctor and should be happy if I could give advice to the sick or provide them with medicine or free them from their suffering by an operation, the reply was usually made that there were no sick among his people. This was of course not actually the case, but it struck me that the one or two tuberculous persons whom it was my fortune to see, showed quite different forms of that ailment from those to which I had been formerly accustomed in the Gold Coast Colony.

I did not see any carious teeth. And that mothers should suckle their children was quite a matter of course and seemed to admit of no exception. Now these people live in a land very differently situated from that of the actual Gold Coast. It needs a respectable amount of labor to gather from the poor soil in these sun-stricken plains the means to support life, quite a different thing from what it is upon the deep soil in the primeval forest land of the Gold Coast. There is no valuable export produce to be collected as on the rich Gold Coast. Yet they are strong, brawny, enduring people, these tribes in the hot and much poorer north. If one looks at the young people of Dagbamba, of Konkomba, of Moba, even of low-lying Kasasi and Tsehakosi, one's heart smiles over this fine people, whose carriage, whose build, whose whole appearance give one the impression of a people with enviable reserve of general health and power of resistance to disease.

While in the spirits-drinking Gold Coast in South Togo there are so remarkably few old people to be seen, in the north one comes across a considerable number of venerable, white-haired negroes. The tribes are friendly and sociable in character, unless quite recent occurrences have made them suspicious or have frightened them. We see them still, the strong, well-built fellows; how they ran in front of our wheels in order to show us the way; how they would stop like lightning to cast aside a stone upon which we might have bumped; with what endurance they kept pace with us and with what pleasure they entered into the kindly jokes which we ventured to indulge in with them; how their faces lighted up when we smiled kindly at them—something so entirely different from what we met with away on the Gold Coast where we had so often come to see gloomy countenances.

The shameful slave trade has been succeeded by the no less shameful trade in spirits. Which of the two brought the greater injury to the negroes? The slave trade has cost life to hundreds of thousands truly enough; it tore families apart and robbed men of their freedom; but it has not however, caused degeneracy in their children. By alcohol a people is poisoned at its very source and inherits the severest menace to its future.

Relation of Capital and Labor to Prohibition.

January 17, 1919, the next morning after thirty-six States had ratified the National Prohibition Amendment, the Morning Telegraph of New York City, widely known as the great sporting paper of this country, and never known as a temperance or prohibition paper, said editorially:

"Unquestionably a majority of the people oppose the manufacture and sale of liquors, for it they did not they would not have voted for prohibition.

"'Big business' has brought about the drought. The captains of industry, railway chiefs, steel men, heads of great corporations assert that men who never drink liquor work better because of their temperance. These employers of millions waged this prohibition campaign as a matter of business. They financed the 'dry' movement, placing it generally in the hands of level-headed business men like themselves. Legislatures were urged to pass temperanc laws for the good of the communities. Figures were offered which the promoters of temperance alleged, showed that men who do not drink perform more labor in a given time than their brethren who drink. It was alleged that the non-drinkers earned more money and had more money than those who spent parts of their income in saloons. The argument must have had weight. The results show it. Big business has won a victory.

Campaign For Worldwide Prohibition.

No Separate Peace For Beer and Wine.

"Why Dry?" is one of a dozen timely books and booklets which the International Reform Bureau is sending, free of charge, so far as its funds permit, to the key men and women of many lands in promotion of the movement which all reform orgnizations endorsed in December, 1918, to celebrate our own nationwide prohibition by immediate efforts on a large scale to make prohibition worldwide in 1925.

For this foreign prohibition work a new edition of "Intoxicating Drinks andDrugs in All Times and Lands," by Dr. and Mrs. W. F. Crafts and Misses Mary and Margaret W. Leitch, is being prepared from fresh testimony as to the present status of the use of intoxicants and efforts for their suppression all over the world.

Prohibition extension will be done in part by sending lecturers abroad—we hope only the best, and those that have been approved at both ends of the line, by those foreign temperance organizations they are intended to reenforce as well as by some union committee in the United States. But this extension of prohibition should also be accomplished in large part by subsidizing and reenforcing with money and literature established agencies in foreign lands that stand for total abstinence or prohibition, or both, including in both cases wine and beer.* Any proposal of "a separate peace for beer" should not be aided or abetted by the temperance people of the United States who have often seen their great cause hindered and hampered by dilatory motions to spare beer and wine. It is as if when three robbers are caught red-handed together, a plea should be made to spare two of them bcause their guns were of lower calibre, though more than making up by rapid fire. One may get the same amount of alcohol, and so of intoxication, in one pint of wine, two pints of beer, or three ounces of whiskey. Those who drink the milder drinks usually make up by drinking more at a time. And bar rooms usually keep beer, wine, and whiskey. They have been too long associated for beer and wine to get away with the idea that they and whiskey are not pals but competitors. Beer and wine are most at fault because they introduce the victim to whiskey. In the United States at least, practically none reach the inebriate asylums who do not confess that it was beer or wine that led them to whiskey and the degradation of the drunkard. And it is time every intelligent man should recognize that the chief evils which come from the drink traffic are not the drunks, but lowered efficiency and corruption of democracy.

We strongly advise that the new book of Charles Stelzle "Why Prohibition?" published by George H. Doran, New York City, shall be sent through some benevolent fund to libraries all over the world. It covers the whole subject in up-to-date fashion and racy, readable style, but gives particular attention to the relation of drink to the financial interests of employer and employees in the great industries.

We shall appreciate swift co-operation in circulation of "Why Dry?" also and suggestions for future editions. (See p. 148 for short list of other books recommended for the worldwide prohibition campaign.)

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*The following are some of the established temperance agencies that the International Reform Bureau has subsidized in a small way and recommends to others for larger subsidies: International Temperance Bureau, Lausanne, Switzerland; International Grand Lodge of Good Templars, Stockholm, Sweden; Dr. Paul-Maurice Legrain, Good Templars, Paris; Committee of Cooperation in Latin America, 25 Madison, St., New York City; World's Sunday School Association, Metropolitan Tower, New York City; National W. C. T. U., Evanston, Ill.; Temperance Alliance of Scotland, Glasgow; British Temperance Alliance, Manchester, England; The International Reform Bureau has a branch in Pekin, China, which has led to victory the anti-opium fight, and will now defend China against invasion by American brewers, in which defense unlimited subsidies could be used to advantage.

Prophetic Calls to Worldwide Prohibition Crusade

SENATOR H. W. BLAIR, in first favorable report in Congress on National Prohibition, 1888:

The agitation for the destruction of the liquor traffic cannot cease until the evils which it inflicts on mankind are removed, or the human race is destroyed.

HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary of the Navy, in letter to W. F. Crafts, 1919:

I hope we will soon see worldwide prohibition.

SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD, in letter to same, 1918:

Worldwide prohibition should go with worldwide democracy, making the latter safe and strong and pure.

U. S. SENATOR WESLEY L. JONES, in letter to same, 1919:

The joy that is brought to the homes of the United States by National Prohibition I hope to see brought to the homes of every people by worldwide prohibition.

U. S. REPRESENTATIVE ALBEN W. BARKLEY in letter to same, 1919:

The evils of liquor are not limited by national bounderies, I hope America's experience and example will hasten the abolition of the traffic throughout the world.

U. S. REPRESENTATIVE EDWIN Y. WEBB, in letter to same, 1919:

Prohibition and temperance are as essential to the moral and social welfare of the peoples of the earth as democracy is essential to them politically. Prohibition and temperance are good for the highest and lowest, the richest and poorest of the peoples of the earth, wherever they are found, and I predict that a prohibition earth is just as inevitable as a democratic earth.

U. S. REPRESENTATIVE HORACE M. TOWNER, in letter to same, 1919:

The United States will rejoice to have the nations of Europe associated with her in an endeavor to rid the world of the evils of intemperance.

H. B. ISHII, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, 1918:

Alcohol is an ever-present menace until it is finally done away with the world over.

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, London, 1914:

The most inspiring faith of our day is the confident belief that purposive effort, guided by expert knowledge, may achieve great things for the human race.

Alphabetical, Analytical, Cyclopedic Index.

This is more than an index of this book; it aims to be an index of the whole subject so far as new conditions at home and abroad require for practical purposes. It is also in some sense a syllabus, aiming to show by the indexing terms just what is "shown" by this book and other sources of information named—societies, Government bureaus, specialists, etc. The two most recent books covering the whole subject of temperance are: The World Book of Temperance by Dr. and Mrs. Wilbur F. Crafts, and the Pocket Cyclopedia of Temperance by Mr. Deets Pickett. These two books with latest Year Book of Anti-Saloon League and this "Why Dry?" will make a sufficient equipment for practical campaigning. Other three books sent by publisher of this book for $2, postpaid, to any land.

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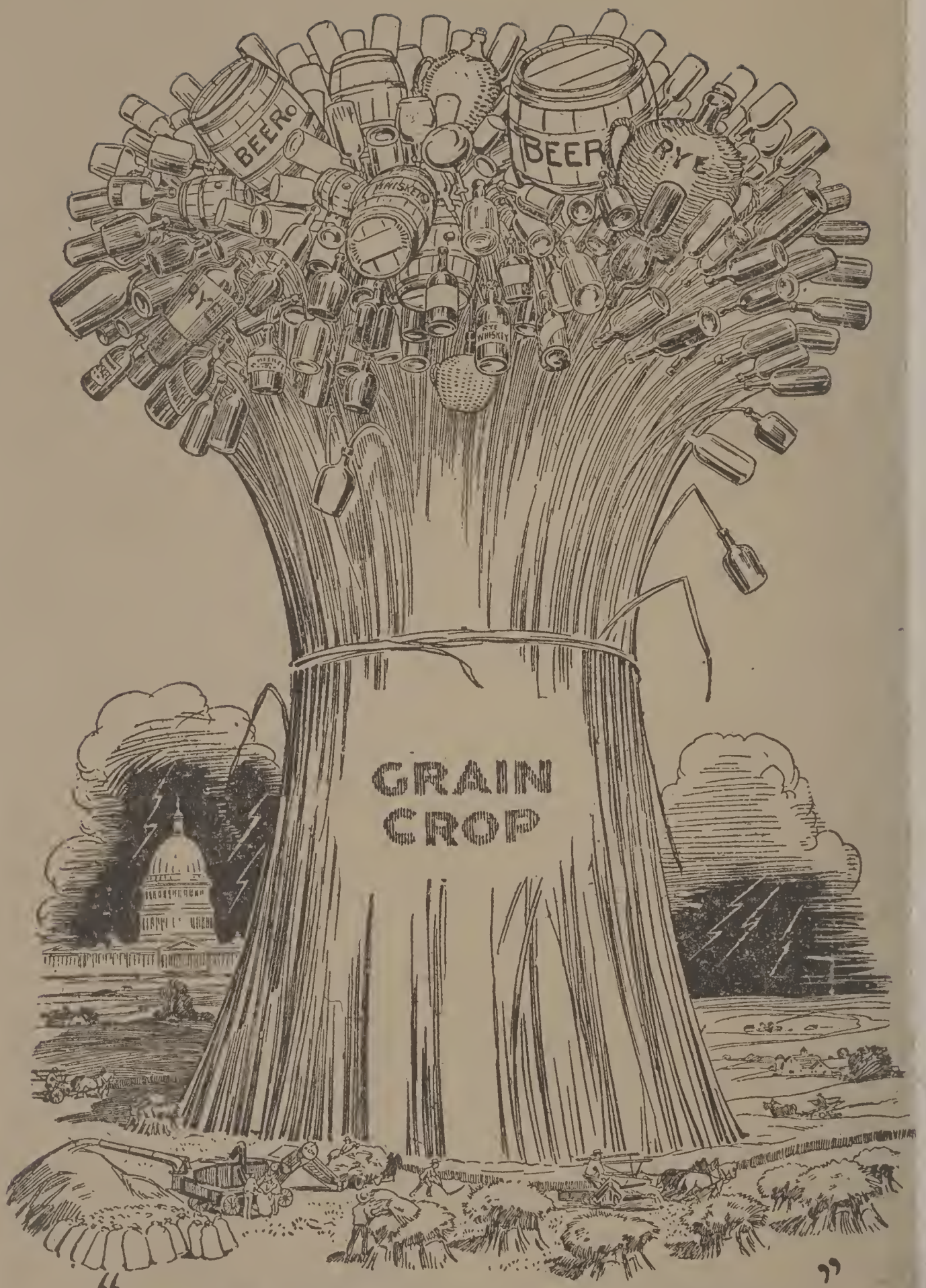

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